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THE GRAIL AND THE ENGLISH SIR PERCEVAL¹

XXIV

*King Arthur had many talismans, among them, no doubt, a
cup of plenty*

The conclusion to which we have arrived is that King Arthur had a cup of plenty like that which every fairy court possessed and like that out of which, by a process of glorification and ecclesiastization, the grail developed. This conclusion is new, but it is in accordance with general probabilities.

From the most ancient times the Irish fairies were the gods of life and increase, dwelling in palaces of unearthly splendor within hollow hills or beneath the water of lakes and seas, just as they do in Irish folklore today. Every fairy monarch, Manannán, the Dagda, Lug, Brion, possessed a collection of talismans upon which his power depended. From the ever flowing stream of folk tradition about these gods of faerie, the heroic sagas of Ireland were in great part derived. The sagas bear witness that in popular story the talismans of the gods had been transferred to the historical, or supposedly historical, heroes: Cuchulinn, Cormac, Crimthann, Finn, and the like. The supernatural origin of these talismans wielded by mortal heroes was remembered, for we are almost always told in connection with each talisman that it was brought from fairyland.²

¹ Continued from *Modern Philology*, XVI, 553-68; XVII, 361-82; XVIII, 201-28, 661-73; XXII, 79-96.

² Cuchulinn's steed, the Grey of Macha, came from the bottom of a lake, *Táin Bó*, ed. Windisch, pp. 490, 670, n. 5; *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, sec. 31; Cuchulinn [MODERN PHILOLOGY, November, 1924] 113

That Cuchulinn, Finn, and other Irish heroes borrowed the attributes of ancient fairy kings or demigods is in some cases certain, and in most cases generally admitted. It has not, however, been so clearly recognized that King Arthur was among the Welsh such a legendary hero, who was fitted out with talismans borrowed from stories about demigods.

The first mention of Arthur (that in the so-called Nennius) implies that he had a marvelous shield and sword. The *Mirabilia*, which are as old as the year 825, refer to his wonderful dog, Cabal. These references prove, as I have elsewhere shown,¹ that Arthur was already in 825² becoming for the Welsh a saga-hero like the Irish Cuchulinn and Cormac. Like Cuchulinn and Cormac he gradually inherited the treasures and the talismans of older lords of faerie—of Manannán, Brion, and Lug. In the 300 years during which oral tradition flourished in Wales before we have any extended record of it (till "Kulhwch and Olwen," ca. 1125,³ there was ample time for the Welsh to exalt Arthur into a fairy monarch, and to give him all sorts of fairy belongings, including, of course, cups of plenty. In the genuine Welsh story "Kulhwch and Olwen" Arthur is frankly a fairy king who mentions proudly many of his talismans: a ship, a mantle, a sword (Caletvwlech), a spear, a shield, and a dagger.⁴ I have already shown that the names of most of these objects convey an idea of whiteness or glitter,⁵ and that this is one of numerous signs of their fairy origin.

had the cauldron and the cows of Curol, a water demon, Thurneysen, *Königsage*, p. 434; Calad-côlc, the sword of Fergus, came out of a fairy mound, *Táin Bó, l. 6023*; the "Luin" of Celtchar was found in the Battle of Moytura, "Togail Bruidne uí Dergae," ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 301; Cormac's "cup of truth" was the gift of Manannán, "Echtra Cormaic," ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, III, 198, 216; Crimthann's chessboard was brought from an underwater fairyland, "Airne Fingean," § 5, *Romanic Review*, IX (1918), 38; Finn had the treasures of Manannán and the shield of Manannán, "Dunairo Finn," *Irish Texts Soc.*, VII, 31, 35, 119, 137.

¹ *PMLA*, XXV (1910), 29. Recently both Schoepperle-Loomis, *Vassar Mediaeval Studies*, p. 10, and Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 9, 82, have dwelt on the vigorous early growth of marvelous stories about Arthur.

² On this date see Thurneysen, *Ztsch. f. d. Phil.*, XXVIII (1895), 80.

³ On this date see Loth, *Contributions* (1912), p. 45; Thurneysen, *Ztsch. f. cell. Phil.*, XII (1918), 283.

⁴ Ed. Rhŷs and Evans, *The Red Book of Hergest*, I, 105; cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 259.

⁵ "The Bleeding Lance," *PMLA*, XXV (1910), 32. According to the oldest accounts the lance of the grail castle was white or luminous: Wauchier, see *PMLA*, XXV, 7; Chrétien's C, ed. Baist, vss. 3154, 3159, 4620, 6339; cf. Dutch *Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, vss. 38549, 38555 "Dat witte blodende spere." The grail glittered, Wauchier, ed.

The only other Welsh Arthurian romance that is certainly free from the influence of extant French romances—"The Dream of Rhonobwy"¹—agrees in general with "Kulhwch and Olwen" in picturing Arthur as a kind of fairy lord, and mentions his wonderful sword and his magic mantle.

Perhaps the Welsh had only rather short oral tales about Arthur until contact with the Normans stimulated them² to write out longer stories of which "Kulhwch" and "Rhonobwy" are extant examples. Doubtless discordant tales were current; some giving Arthur a spear and a sword, but no cup of plenty; others, a cup of plenty and a chess-board, but no spear.

The present argument confirms a view which I indicated some years ago³ that the "four jewels" of the T.D.D., despite all kinds of alterations and additions, tended to remain together as a set of talismans; that they were known in Wales; that at an early time, certainly by 1100, they were all more or less attached to Arthur; and that they are the basis of the talismans of the grail castle. Since they were the regular furniture of any fairy castle, their continuing together was a natural result of the steadiness of fairy belief among the Irish and Welsh.⁴

Potvin, vss. 28069-72; Chrétien's *C*, 3188; Boron's *Joseph*, vss. 719, 2032. This is a proof that bleeding lance and grail were in origin fairy objects. It is no stumblingblock for my theory of a connection between Arthur and a cup of plenty that the celebrated list in "Kulhwch and Olwen" contains no cup of plenty. The story goes on to relate that Arthur, at Kulhwch's demand, undertook a quest for (among other things) some four marvelous vessels. It expressly relates that he obtained and carried off one of them; namely, "The Cauldron of Diwrnach" (*Red Book*, I, 135). An archaic Welsh poem likewise represents Arthur as carrying off a marvelous cauldron (Skene, *Four Books*, I, 264; II, 181).

¹ Composed somewhat later than 1150 (Loth, *Contributions*, p. 48).

² York Powell wrote me in 1901: "The books, I think, were Breton, and the poems and oral traditions Welsh, that Wace and Geoffrey had."

³ "The Round Table before Wace," (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VII (1900), 199; "The Bleeding Lance," *PMLA*, XXV, 57. The number, four, makes no difference to the argument which depends upon the fact that a set of varying talismans is often described in the oldest Irish tales; e.g., "Airne Fingeln," a tenth-century story, translated in *Romanic Review*, IX, 37-38.

⁴ This is the view that seems natural and reasonable. Some (none of them folklorists, I think) insist that Arthur did not become a saga-hero till the Norman-French took him up (see Bruce, *Evolution of A.R.*, I, 38), and that it was only in French that Arthur could have been given the trappings of the old Celtic gods—Manannán and Lug. Those who adhere to this view need not be antagonistic to the present argument, provided they admit, what seems undeniable, that the French drew their Arthurian fairy materials chiefly from Welsh or Breton, oral or written, tradition, and that they had elaborated a rather complete picture of Arthur's court very early, certainly before 1100.

It is not necessary for the present argument to prove that the Round Table was anciently connected with Arthur. The argument is that Arthur inherited talismans from older lords of faerie, not that every object connected with Arthur in the romances sprang from a fairy talisman. It is, however, probable that besides a cup of plenty Arthur had long since adopted a marvelous table¹ to go with it. But just as the cup of plenty did not grow into the grail till the French began to tell the stories, so perhaps Arthur's table was not called the Round Table except by the French who were struck by the (to them) unusual shape. This idea is suggested by Brugger in his review of Mott's "The Round Table."² Brugger points out that Wace's explanation of the roundness of the table—namely, that all might sit on an equality—can hardly be ancient. I see no reason to doubt, however, that Lazamon's barbaric fight at Arthur's board was a genuine Welsh story, and probably one of those "fables of the Bretons" that Wace knew,³ only I now agree with Brugger that the setting of the tale (i.e., its connection with the roundness of the table) though older than Wace, was invented by men who had forgotten the original character of Arthur's feasts. Wolfram (*Parzival*, 309, 12 f.) pictures Arthur's feast as a circle on the grass. Arthur's feasts and the feast of the grail castle were round because the Celtic fairies feasted in a circle. Arthur as fairy king fell heir to the fairy feasts held especially at Samhuin (November 1) in circular mounds, raths, or cromlechs. Of course there is a connection with the ancient round houses of the Celts.⁴

For the present purpose it does not matter which view one chooses about the Round Table. The essential thing is to make clear that Geoffrey, Wace, and Lazamon show that they know Arthur as a saga-king, who owned talismans about which wonderful tales were current. They do not, of course, choose to tell these tales for fear of spoiling the pseudo-historical tone of their chronicles.

¹ The Welsh dialogue that mentions Arthur's "long table" may be witness of this; cf. *Romania*, XXVIII (1899), 347, note.

² *Ztschr. f. franz. Sp.*, XXIX² (1906), 243 f.

³ Even the skeptical Bruce agreed to this, *op. cit.*, I, 87.

⁴ See my "Round Table before Wace" (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VII, 196 f.; Mott, *PMLA*, XX, 231; Miss Weston, *Mélanges Wilmotte*, p. 885; and, on the shape of the grail castle, Nitze, *Studies in Honor of A. M. Elliott*, I, 19. Hertha Brandenburg (*Galfrid von Monmouth*, Berlin diss. [1918], p. 137) has failed to prove that the Round Table story originated in medieval tournaments.

Geoffrey mentions Arthur's sword, Caliburnus; shield, Pridwen; and lance, Ron.¹ Wace adds the Round Table.

That Arthur inherited at least one of the talismans of the lords of faerie has been proved with almost mathematical precision. His well-known sword, Caliburn, derives both name and properties from a famous Irish sword, Calad-cole, that was brought out a *std.*² In Chrétien's *C (Conte du Graal)* "Escalibor" is Gawain's sword (ed. Baist, 5864; Potvin, 7280). It is an almost certain conjecture that in the source of *C*, a lost Gawain-book,³ it was the grail sword.

Another name of Welsh origin (not yet pointed out in Irish) which is connected with the grail tradition is Gringalet. In *C*, Gringalet is Gawain's horse (6171, 7100; Potvin, 7583, 8498). In *Parzival* we are told that Gawain rode a grail horse "mit den rōten ōren Gringaljete" (ed. Martin, 339, 29 and note). Now red ears are a well-known peculiarity of Celtic fairy beasts.⁴ Like Excalibur, Gringalet was, therefore, the name of a fairy object belonging to the grail tradition. Like Excalibur, it is a word of Celtic origin. In the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, reproduced by J. G. Evans (p. 28, l. 9), in a triad we read "kein caled .m. Gualchmei" (Keincaled horse of G.). This triad is in the bold handwriting of the earlier part of the MS, which is thought by Evans to date from 1154. Nobody dates the MS later than the twelfth century, and nobody has detected in it any influence of French romance. Without doubt Keincaled represents a Welsh source for the name of Gawain's horse.⁵

¹ The corresponding names in "Kulhwch and Olwen" are: Caletvwlch, Prytwenn, Rongoŷyant, *PMLA*, XXV, 26.

² Zimmer, *Gott. gel. Anz.* (1890), pp. 516-17. See, now, Thurneysen, *Ztschr. f. Celt. Phil.*, XII (1918), 281. I have shown that Calad-cole was by the Irish identified with the sword of Nuadu, one of the "four jewels" of the T.D.D. (*Kiltredge Anniversary Vol.*, 1913, p. 246). It is natural to suppose that Arthur's spear, Ron (and by another tradition the Bleeding Lance of the grail castle), goes back to the spear of Lug, which was called the "Luin"; and that the grail derives its properties from the Cauldron of the Dagda, with an addition of some of those ascribed to the Stone of Destiny.

³ See below, p. 124. In the Vulgate *Merlin*, ed. Sommer, II, 253, Arthur presents Excalibur to young Gawain.

⁴ Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology* (1903), p. 230; Cross, *Modern Philology*, XII (1915), 597, n. 4.

⁵ Cf. "Carnawlauc horse of Owein." *Black Book*, p. 27, l. 8; "Caringrun horse of Gwyn son of Nud." *ibid.*, p. 98, l. 7. Zimmer, although he thought that Keincaled was the source of Gringalet, in his passion for Breton origins tried to show that the name might not be ancient in Wales, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XIII (1891), 18-26. He was refuted by Lot, *Romania*, XXV (1896), 4. Cf. G. Paris, *Hist. Litt.* XXX, 36-37; *Romania*, XX, 149-50. Gawain's horse is called "Guingalet" in Chrétien's *Erec*, vss. 3955 (see Foerster's note in his larger edition), 3965, 4085. In Hartmann's *Erec*, vs. 4714, the

In view of the fact that Arthur became for the Welsh a fairy king, and drew into his charmed circle a Celtic sword Excalibur and a fairy horse Gringalet, is it not a natural conjecture that he must at an early time have attracted to his marvelous court a fairy cup of plenty? There can be but one answer to this question. Stories must have been rife that gave him a fairy cup such as is found in every fairy palace.

Sp is such a story, sadly rationalized and confused, and the gold cup is a development of such a fairy cup of plenty. This brings Arthur very close to the grail, since the grail is (according to our hypothesis) but another development from a fairy cup of plenty.

The connection of Arthur and the grail has every appearance of being old. All grail stories introduce Arthur.¹ Arthur and the grail disappear at last in the sea.

So far back as 1880² Martin expressed an opinion that Arthur was once the grail king (not Arthur at that period of his life usually depicted in the romances but Arthur wounded in his last battle, and carried to Avalon to be healed—an old man, ill from wounds that only a prodigy could heal). Huet adopted this view.³ More recently Brugger has inclined to this view,⁴ pointing out that it explains why the loss of the grail occasioned the enchantment of Britain (Logres = Arthur's kingdom).

We must distinguish between the grail, by which I mean the mysterious object first told of in Wauchier and *C*, and a fairy cup of plenty. Arthur was not lord of the grail, but he was, as *Sp* indicates, lord of a cup of plenty like that out of which the grail developed. Popular tradition, no doubt, preserved some connection between Arthur's cup of plenty and the grail, and here is an explanation of the scattered links, noted by Martin, that bind Arthur to the grail.

correct form is Wintwaliten (see Zwierzina, *Ztsch. f. d. Alt.*, XLV, 317). Some other occurrences of the name are: *Vengeance de Raguidel*, ed. Friedwagner, vss. 983 (see note, p. 210), 2653; *Le Cimetière Perilleux*, ed. Herrig's *Archiv*, XLII (1868), 258; *Fergus*, vs. 6720; *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, ed. Armstrong, vs. 226; (English) *Gawain*, vs. 597; (Dutch) *Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, vss. 38875, 44833 (=te Winkel, *Moriaen*, vs. 1493); Sommer, *Vulgate Romances*, see Index.

¹ Except *Sone de Nansai*.

² *Quellen und Forschungen*, XLII, 31. Also in *Parsival*, II (1903), p. ix.

³ *De Beweging*, III (1907), 254 f.

⁴ *Ztsch. f. frans. Sp.*, XLIV² (1916), 108.

Martin and Huet were not absolutely wrong in thinking that Arthur was once the grail king. Only they should have said that he was once a king of a cup of plenty, as in our reconstruction of *Sp*. In the romances Arthur could not be the grail king because the conception of him as a splendid monarch was too firmly fixed for him to be depicted as a victim of enchantment.¹ In the English *Sp* it was possible for Arthur to be lord of the cup because his enchantment and consequent helplessness are so slurred over as to be unintelligible, and consequently they do not clash harshly with the current conception of him as a feudal king.

It has often been remarked that *Sp* (and *Pd*) tell a Perceval (Peredur) story with no grail in it. This is correct if we use the word "grail" in a strict sense. They show no trace that Arthur was lord of anything other than a cup of plenty such as was found at every well-appointed fairy court. Griffith in his study of *Sp* came to the conclusion that the grail entered the story late.² This is also correct if we keep the word "grail" for the mysterious object which is called by that name in *C*.

XXV

*The gold cup in Chrétien's Conte du Graal was once a
cup of plenty*

We have seen that stories about battles between fairy folk and Fomorians were common in ancient Irish, and that the most famous of these was the "Battle of Moytura" (*CMT*), which is in substance older than the rise of Arthurian romance. We have observed that *Sp* follows the formula of such a battle, fought by the aid of talismans, and that consequently all of the objects prominent in *Sp* were, in an earlier form of the plot, talismans. It follows that the gold cup in *Sp* must once have been a cup of plenty, and we have seen that tales doubtless existed ascribing to King Arthur a talismanic cup. We conclude that the corresponding gold cup in *C* (Chrétien's *Conte du Graal*) was also, in origin, a talisman, and we ask ourselves, What could have been the make-up of *C*, or rather of its source, *x*?

¹ But at the beginning of *Perlesvaus*, any close observer can see that Arthur is pictured as the victim of enchantment.

² *Sir Perceval, A Study of the Sources* (Chicago, 1911), p. 127.

Our evidence shows that x was a tandem story, and that the two parts were discordant variants of the same theme. The first part¹ was based upon a story about a talismanic cup that belonged to Arthur; the second part² upon a story about a similar cup, called "a grail," that belonged, not to Arthur, but to one of the mysterious older lords of faerie (probably Irish Brion; Welsh Bran; Brons in the *Joseph of Boron*).³

Our hypothesis is that the author of x (the lost source of C , and of Kyôt-Wolfram) prefixed to a grail story, into the development of which we cannot now go,⁴ a story that resembled Sp (and Pd), and which told of a fairy cup of plenty. This was rigidly rationalized, so that the repetition of the cup theme was not glaringly obvious. Chrétien, although he no doubt adapted the story to the fashions of his day, appropriated the plot of x . His C , therefore, follows incident by incident Sp (and Pd) to the end of the Castle of Maidens episode, and then diverges altogether—a divergence that marks the beginning of the second part of x , or the true grail story. The tandem plot of x led to the repetition of a more or less rationalized fairy cup of plenty in C : first as a gold cup of Arthur, and second as "*un graal*" (ed. Baist, 3182). No such repetition is in Sp (or Pd). Another consequence is that the original machinery of a conflict between two superhuman or semidivine races is in C greatly disordered and entangled.⁵

Reiteration, such as our hypothesis supposes to have existed in x (the common source of C and Kyôt-Wolfram), was not unusual in MSS that relate popular tradition. Many Irish sagas exist in conflate⁶ versions in which the compiler, eager to keep all the incidents of two

¹ Which corresponds to C , ed. Potvin, vss. 1283–4150.

² Which corresponds to C , vss. 4150 ff.

³ Elsewhere I hope to show that Welsh "Bran" is to be identified with Irish "Brion." The story of Bran and his cauldron (Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 129 f.) gives a hint of the kind of story that was the source of the second part of x (and of the grail part of C).

⁴ I hope to deal with this problem in another place.

⁵ Griffith (*Sir Perceval*, p. 127), although he did not perceive that Arthur's gold cup was a rationalized cup of plenty, concluded that the combination between the stories of the first and second parts of C had occurred before Chrétien. He thought this because: "Chrétien was not averse to magic and marvels, but [the first part of C] has magic all expunged. In [the second part] the Grail story and the Gawain adventures, magic again occurs."

⁶ Zimmer, "Ueber den compilerischen Charakter der irischen Sagentexte im LU," *Ztsch. f. vgl. Sprch.*, XXVIII (1887), 417–689. Thurneysen, *Königsage* (1921), pp. 25 f.

sources, has produced repetitions or doublets. A striking doublet of this kind may be observed by anybody who will turn the pages of *Fled Bricrend*¹ and observe the repetition of "the beheading game." In the *Imram Maelduin* the earthly paradise visit is at least thrice repeated.² In a Latin *Life of St. Brandan*, which has been conflated from two sources, occurs a monstrous doubling of the visit to the Land of Promise incident.³

This repetition in Brendan MSS⁴ is significant because the demonstrated history of that legend—a heathen Irish saga developing into a Latin and a French legend—is an exact parallel to what by our hypothesis was the history of the grail story.⁵ Both were stories of a quest; both were at first, I think, told of the Irish god Brion; both became ecclesiasticized.⁶

Some at least of the first French romances were built up in the same way by the reiteration of a favorite theme.⁷ We can trace such romance structure in the Welsh *Owain*,⁸ and in the German *Lanzelet*.⁹ Most MSS of *C*, like that at Mons which was printed by Potvin, contain successive and irreconcilable versions of the grail story.¹⁰ Our hypothesis is that even before Chrétien two irreconcilable versions of the cup-of-plenty theme were attached together.

¹ *Irish Texts Soc.*, II, 96-101; 116-29.

² See my papers in *Modern Philology*, XIV, 68; and (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 67.

³ Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, 98-151; see his discussion, I, xxxvii; *Ztschr. f. Celt. Phil.*, V, 124, 429.

⁴ The MSS are later than Chrétien's time but the conflation began earlier.

⁵ A probable relationship between the Legend of St. Brandan and that of the grail has been indicated by me in *Modern Philology*, XIV (1916), 385.

⁶ This ecclesiasticization seems to have been present already in the second part of *z* (the source of Chrétien's "grail"). This part of *z* probably said that the old man at the castle lived entirely from the grail because of his holiness (see *C*, ed. Baist, 6384), and blurred over the original pagan notion that he was in a death-in-life enchantment, and was kept alive by a talisman till a destined hero should come. Chrétien may have understood that some association existed between the grail procession and the Mass, but he merely hints at it, and leaves the grail largely pagan. See my discussion of this question, in *PMLA*, XXV, 7-10, and in *Modern Philology*, XIV, 401-2. Brugger, in his review (*Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXVI, 187) of the earlier article, thought that I rather overstated the heathen character of the grail in *C*.

⁷ The Welsh *Peredur*, too, shows several repetitions of theme. See Brugger, *ibid.*, XLIV, 169, and compare XXXI, 159; XX, 151.

⁸ This I have shown in *PMLA*, XX (1905), 681; and in *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 151. The original of *Owain* was a French romance that resembled the source of Chrétien's *Ivain*.

⁹ See above, and *Modern Philology*, XVII, 365.

¹⁰ Twelve MSS out of sixteen according to Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 27 f.

Somebody today might undertake to build up a coherent grail story out of the Mons MS, keeping as many as possible of all the incidents. The hypothesis is that Chrétien had some such, a conflate, original.

The successive pieces in the Mons MS are: the "Elucidation," verses 1-484; Bliocadrans Prologue, 485-1282; Chrétien's unfinished *C*, 1283-10601; pseudo-Wauchier, 10602-21916; Wauchier, 21917-34934; Manessier, and Gerbert, to the extent of some 63,000 verses. All of these pieces were put into their present form after *C*, for they are arranged round *C*, and crudely connected to it. Several of them, however, represent an older tradition to which they conform as against *C*.

Our next task is to consider the bearing of these various pieces on our argument. First, in regard to *C*, it is needless to discuss the well-known parallelism between *Sp* and the first part of *C*, but it is worth noting that our argument explains several expressions in this part of *C* that nobody has accounted for.

C says that Perceval's mother, "la veve dame," lived in "la gaste forest soutaine" (ed. Baist, vs. 75). We can now see that "soutaine" stands for the Old French "soutane" or "souterrain" (under the earth), and referred to the Land beneath the Waves. Nobody understood the word,¹ because nobody remembered that Perceval's mother was a *fée*. The land was waste, as we can now see, because it had been enchanted by giants (Fomorians), who are here called the Red Knight, the King Clamadex, and his seneschal, Anginguerrons.

The castles mentioned—Arthur's (ed. Baist, 841), Gornemant's (1301), and Biaurepaire (1682)—are on the sea or on a great water. Perceval's father was feared "An totes les isles de mer" (399, 405). These statements are easily explained as survivals of an underwater realm, and also the description of the country outside of Biaurepaire: "One could see nothing except sea and water and waste land" (1685). This is a description of an undersea realm, like that where the grail castle lies in Wauchier (Potvin, 19953 f.).

Finally the various names given to the land where Perceval's mother lived, or with which she had dealings, seem to be corruptions

¹ Cf. Potvin, *Perceval*, I, 44. Wolfram mistook it for a place name, "Soltana" (*Parzival*, 117, 9). Baist, verse 1679, reads: "es forez sostainnes," and Potvin, verse 2895, "es fories soutaines." Cf. Singer, *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CLXXX (1916), 65.

of Avalon (Afallach),¹ the Welsh fairy island beneath or beyond the sea, to which the Irish Finnoire, mentioned previously,² corresponds.

The Bliocadrans Prologue (vss. 485-1282) is one of the pieces that preserves a tradition older than *C*. Perhaps it represents a fragment of *x* (the source of *C* and of Kyôt-Wolfram).³ It contains several archaic features not in *C*. When Perceval's mother fled into the Waste Forest after the death of her husband, she announced that she was going "a saint Brandain d'Escoce orer."⁴ St. Brandan is, as I hope elsewhere to show, an easy Christianization of the heathen god Brion, or Bran. Originally, the lady went to the underwater realm of Bran. We are told that her place of refuge was in the Waste Forest, near a stream of water great enough to run a mill, and 100 leagues from any house.⁵ This may be a rationalization of the Waste Land beneath the waves. Then we read that people thought that she and her son "were dead and drowned in the sea."⁶ Readers of fairy tales know that this is a conventional way to account for the disappearance of those who have gone to Underwaveland.⁷

Three of the pieces in the Mons MS—the "Elucidation," pseudo-Wauchier, and Wauchier—refer to Bleheris⁸ as authority, and I

¹ "Li destroit de Valdone" (Baist, 296). "Au roi d'Escavalon" (444; Potvin, 1657). The Montpellier MS reads "De Canelon," and the prose of 1530 "D'Escanalon." Brugger has another explanation, *Ztsch. f. frans. Sp.*, XLVI, 412; XXVIII, 47, n. 86. On Avalon see Bruce, *Evol.*, I, 81.

² See above, p. 90.

³ For the evidence see Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Perc.*, I, 71-73; Brugger, *Ztsch. f. frans. Sp.*, XXXI, 126; Griffith, *Sir Perc.*, p. 27; and *Modern Philology*, XVI, 559, n. 2. On Kyôt see also Singer, *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CLXXX, 126. Singer's article is reviewed by Bötticher, *Jahresbericht*, XXXVIII (1916), VII-48; Scholte, *Neophilologus*, V (1920), 115; Campion, *ibid.*, VII (1922), 316.

⁴ Verse 1038, cf. 1071.

⁵ Verse 1163.

⁶ Que ele et toute sa maisnee
Fuscent en mer morte et noie. vs. 1221.

⁷ See *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 666; and cf. the Japanese tale of Urashima who spent 400 years with a sea king's daughter in Evergreen Land, and was thought to have been drowned, in Chamberlain, *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (1880), pp. 33-36.

⁸ He is evidently the Welsh "fabulator" Bledhericus, named by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Cambriae*, cap. 17. Some references on Bleheris are as follows (I have starred some important ones): *G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), 425; XVIII, 322; Rhôs, *Art. Leg.*, p. 373; Foerster, *Erech*, xxiv; Golther, *Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.*, XII, 354; Zimmer, *Ztsch. f. frans. Sp.*, XIII, 84-86; Lot, *Romania*, XXV, 23; XXVIII, 336; *Etude sur Lancelot* (1918), p. 203; Bédier, *Tristan*, II, 96-98; J. L. Weston, **Romania*, XXXIII (1904), 333; *XXXIV, 101-5; *Legend of Sir P.*, I, 288 f., II, 251 f.; *Quest* (1913), p. 110; *From Ritual* (1920), pp. 181-91; Brugger, *Ztsch. f. frans. Sp.*, XX (1898), 137; XXXI, 150; XXXVI, 69; XXXVII, 167; XLIV, 16; Owen, *Revue Celtique*, XXXII (1911), 5-17; Gruffydd, *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII, 180-83; Loth, *Contributions* (1912), pp. 33-37; Mabinogion, I (1913), 72-75; Jones, *Transactions Cymmrodorion* (1913-14), p. 289;

think rest to a great extent upon a lost Gawain-book.¹ The "Elucidation" evidently served as an introduction to this Gawain-book.²

The "Elucidation" is less rationalized than *C*. It declares, for example, that the Fisher King could change semblance, which makes him resemble Manannán the well-known sea king of Irish mythology. In this fairy atmosphere, and in several details, notably those connected with the grail, it agrees³ against *C* with Wauchier (and pseudo-Wauchier).

XXVI

The "Elucidation" associates cups of plenty with the Grail

We must examine the "Elucidation" a little more closely. The title "Elucidation de l'hystoire du Graal," which is given to this fragment in the prose version printed at Paris in 1530, shows that somebody understood that the "Elucidation" helped to explain the grail story.⁴ Since it does not particularly explain the grail stories as they stand in the Mons MS, it seems possible that this title may be traditional, and may go back to a time when the grail story was more obviously a cup-of-plenty story and when anybody could see that the golden cups of the damsels of the *puis*⁵ resembled the grail.

Singer, *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CLXXX (1916), 126; Watkin, *Transactions Cymmrodorion* (1919-20), p. 7; Fischer, *Anglia Beiblatt*, XXXII (1922), 113; Campion, *Neophilologus*, VII (1922), 316. Since both pseudo-Wauchier, and Wauchier, in telling Gawain incidents of a similar character, refer to Bleheris as authority, I see no use in setting up a pseudo-Wauchier. This is the view of Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Percival*, I, 235; and of Brugger, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXI², 141. For a contrary opinion see Lot, *Etude sur Lancelot*, p. 178, and the references he gives; also Bruce, *Evol.* I, 285-86.

¹ See Brugger, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XLIV² (1917), 16: "Die grosse Gauvainkompilation des Blehri . . . muss in den Jahren 1152-54 entstanden sein, wie ich in dieser *Zs.* 31², 150, bewiesen habe." These are the latest dates. See now Brugger, *Ztschr. f. Franz. Spr.*, XLVII (1924), 162-85.

² Brugger thinks (*Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXI², 149) to a somewhat later redaction of the Gawain-book from that used by Wauchier. The relation of this Gawain-book to *x* (the source of *C* and of Kyôt-Wolfram) is not clear. Probably, as Brugger thinks (*ibid.*, XXXI², 142; XLIV², 168), they were not identical. I am glad to find that in many points I agree with Brugger. Where we agree there is good hope that future scholarship will prove that we are right.

³ Nutt thought that the "Elucidation" embodied genuine tradition, *Legend of the H.G.* (1888), p. 8. Cf. Miss Weston, *Leg. of Sir Perc.*, I, 276; *From Ritual*, p. 162.

⁴ The author of the prose of 1530 did not invent the title "Elucidation." He was puzzled by the story, and his first remark is: "Le conte semble mieulx chose de fairie qu'altre riens: et au vray dire c'estoit bien la greigneur merveille qu'on pourroit ouyr deviser." Evidently he copied the title "Elucidation" from "l'ancien livre faict en ryme et langaige non usité," which he modernized. These quotations are from a rotograph belonging to the Modern Language Association, and deposited at the Library of Congress.

⁵ *Puis* probably means *std* (fairy mound). The German translation, made about 1331-36, gives "Berge," "Gebirge," and the French prose of 1530 renders it "caves." See Potvin, p. 1, n. 5: "Ces pucelles se tenoient en caves que l'ancienne hystoire appelle autrement puy qui estoient en celle forestz entaillées par ouvrage merveilleux."

Puis might also mean "spring," as I translated it in *Kiltrede Annis. Papers* (1913), p. 249.

Because of its importance I will quote and translate the more significant passages of the "Elucidation":¹

After referring to Blihis as an authority,² we are told that the rich country of Logres fell in ruin,

The land was dead and desert.³ . . .
So that they lost the voices of the *puis*,
And the maidens who were in them.

At first no traveler needed to go farther than to one of these *puis* to secure food:

For forthwith there issued, this is my belief,⁴
Out of the *puis* a maiden;
They could not ask a prettier;
She carried in her hand a gold cup,
With roasts, pasties, and bread;
Another maiden brought
A white napkin and a dish
Of gold and silver, in which was
The food that he had asked for
Who had come there for it;
At the *pui* he was very well received;
And if this food did not please him,
She brought him many other (kinds)
Made altogether to their wish.

¹ Quoted from Potvin, *Perceval*, verses 1-484, Mons MS. The corresponding prose of the 1530 edition is printed in Potvin, *Bibliographie de Chrestien*, pp. 171-78; a German version is in the *Parzival* of Wisse and Coln, ed. Schorbach, pp. lvii-lxx. The French prose and the German version go back to MSS different from Mons.

² Car, se maistre Blihis ne ment,
Nus ne doit dire le secré. 12

³ La tiere fu morte et deserte,
Si que pou ne valu II nois;
Qu'il pierdirent des puis les vois
Et les puceles k'ens estoient. 30

⁴ Car luès issolt, ce m'est avis,
Fors del puis, une damosele;
Il ne demandassent plus belle;
Coupe d'or portoit en sa main,
Avoec lardés, pastés et pain;
Raportoit une autre pucele
Touaille blanke et escuiele 44
D'or et d'argent, en col estoit
Li mès ke cil requis avoit
Qui pour les mès estoit venus;
Au pui moult ert biel receus;
Et, se cil mès ne li plaisoit,
Plusours autres li aporloit
Fais trestout à lor volenté.
A grant joie et à grant plenté.
Les puceles communement
Servoient biel et liement 50
Tous ceus qui les chemins erroient
Et por mangier as puis venoient.
Rois Amangons s'enfraint premiers. ... 55
60

With great joy and great plenty
 The maidens generally
 Served well and gladly
 All those who wandered along the roads
 And came for food to the *puis*.
 King Amangons broke (this custom) first. . . .

He did violence to one of the maidens, and took away her cup of gold, and carried it off with him.¹ Then he caused himself to be served out of it. Other warriors followed his bad example, and no maidens or food were found any more at the *puis*. The realm turned to waste, the trees lost their leaves,

The meadows and the flowers dried up,²
 And the streams shrunk away,
 Then no one could ever find
 The Court of the Rich Fisher
 Who made splendid the country.

Afterward, at the time of King Arthur, the knights of the Table Round came and wished to recover the *puis*,

And to guard valiantly³
 The maidens that would issue from them
 And the cups which they would bring;
 And to destroy the lineage
 Of those who did them harm.

They overthrew several knights whom they found:

The first knight whom they conquered⁴
 Had for his name Blihos Bliheris,
 And my lord Gawain conquered him
 By the great courage of which he was full.
 He sent him to render himself to King Arthur. . . .

¹ Cf. how King Alilll violated a fairy maid, Ane, at her *sid*, and the vengeance taken by the fairies: "Battle of Mag Mucrimne," *Revue Celtique*, XIII (1892), 435.

² Li pré et les flor essacierent
 Et les algues apeticierent,
 Ne on ne peut puis trover jor
 Le cort au rice pescheour
 Qui resplendissoit le pais. 100

³ A garder efforcement
 Les pucies k'en isteroient
 Et les coupes qu'aporteroient
 Et à destruire le lingnage
 De çaus ki lor fissent damage. 126

⁴ Li premiers chevallers conquis
 Ot à nom Blihos Bliheris;
 Sel conquist mesire Gauwains,
 Par grant proece dont ert plains;
 Au roi Artu l'envoia rendre. . . 130 165

At the court Blihis was not known, but he

Knew such very good stories¹
That no one could grow weary
Listening to his words.

He declared to the knights of Arthur that they would have to search
by forest and by field,

Until that God shall grant them to find²
The court from which the joy shall come
Of which this land shall be resplendent again.

Arthur's knights set about the quest at once:

Then they will search with great vigor³
For the court of the Rich Fisher
Who knew much of necromancy,
So that he would change his semblance a hundred times;
No one could recognize him
When he had shifted his shape to another (?)
My lord Gawain found him
In the time that Arthur reigned,
And was at the Court (of the Rich Fisher) in truth;
Further on ye shall be told about it.

After this the "Elucidation" has been rather crudely altered to make
it serve as an introduction to a Perceval poem (probably to C). It
unexpectedly declares that Perceval the Welshman found the grail.

A comparison of the various Irish stories that we have studied
enables us to explain the "Elucidation" somewhat as follows. King
Amangons, who stole the golden cup from one of the *fées* of the *puis*
and encouraged his warriors to do the like, is in origin a Fomorian.

¹ Mals si tres bons contes savoit
Que nus ne se püst lasser
De ses paroles escouter. 170

² Tant ke Dex lor donra trover
La court dont la joie venra
Dont cis pais resplendra. 206

³ Puis cerkeront par grant vigor
Le court au rice pascéour
Qui moult savoit de ningremence
Qu'il muast .c. fois sa samblance;
Nus ne kerroit en nule guise,
Li autres en autre devise. 220

Mesire Gauwains le trova
En icel tans k'Artus regna,
Et fu à la court, par vreté;
Ça avant vos ert bien conté. 225

King Clamadex and his seneschal, Anguinguerrons, in *C* were besieging the castle of Blanchefleur; the giant Gollerotherame in *Sp* was attacking Lufamour's fortress; all these and the Red Knight are corresponding figures, and are all enemies to the fairy folk and to King Arthur. The attack of these evil monsters (Fomorians) upon the fairies (Tuatha Dé Danann), who were the gods of plenty and increase, brought about the Waste Land (The Enchantment of Britain).¹ The Rich Fisher is the king of the fairies of the *puis*. His "grail" is simply a more splendid golden cup. The fairies of the *std* and those of Underwaveland were confused. In another version the Rich Fisher may have lived like Manannán, Lug,² and Nuadu in the sea, and thus have acquired the name "Fisher King."

It is a striking confirmation of our argument to find, as we do in the "Elucidation," a French author connecting fairy cups of plenty with the Rich Fisher, King Arthur, and the grail. This is exactly what we should expect if the grail be indeed a glorified cup of plenty. It is an awkward fact for an advocate of an exclusively Christian origin of the grail to explain.

A parallel to the story of the "Elucidation" is found in a folk tale recorded by Gervasius of Tilbury about 1211, and located by him in Gloucestershire.³ Gervasius' story is briefly as follows:

In a forest of Gloucestershire is a glade in the midst of which stands a hillock rising to the height of a man. Tired knights and hunters were wont to get relief here. This had to be done singly and alone. The adventurous man would then say "I thirst." Whereupon a cupbearer, in splendid attire, with a glad countenance (*celebri cultu, vultu hilari*) would appear and present him with a large drinking horn, adorned with gold and gems, and containing a liquor of some unknown but most delicious flavor. When he had drunk this, all heat and weariness fled from his body, and the cupbearer presented him with a towel to wipe his mouth (*mantile ad ora siccanda*) and then, having done this, disappeared. One day an evil knight stole the horn and brought it to the Earl of Gloucester, who presented it to King Henry I.

¹ It is not in *Sp* alone that King Arthur is weak, or under enchantment, and the grail has been carried off. In *Perlesvaus* are traces of the same thing: these were probably not understood even by the composer of the romance. See Potvin's edition, I, 4; "Li rois del Chastel Mortel" has carried off the grail, *ibid.*, 137, 176.

² Lug's palace was under Loch Currib (J. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland*, p. 51): "And the site of his house is in the west of the lake; and the lake came over it afterwards." The usual rationalization! Vendryes (*Revue Celtique*, XXXIX [1922], 354) adopts the idea that Nuadu (Nodons) hooking a salmon is the origin of the Fisher King.

³ *Otia Imperialia*, Decis. III, cap. 60, ed. Liebrecht (1856), p. 28.

Not only is the central incident of this story like that of the "Elucidation," but several resemblances in detail attract attention. Most of these may be dismissed at once (e.g., splendid appearance of the cupbearer) as not proving any close connection, because fairies are wont to have beautiful attire. The mention of a napkin in both stories may imply a closer connection. I do not recall another fairy story with this incident.

Can it be that the Gloucestershire story is based entirely on the "Elucidation," which we could imagine got told in England and became popular there? Nobody who considers how many stories of this type are current in Great Britain and other northern countries will entertain this view.¹ Gervasius' story is truly popular in origin.

Could it be that Gervasius' story, although the kernel of it is evidently popular,² has been influenced by our text of the "Elucidation"? This view, although theoretically possible, will not, I think, be seriously urged by anybody. The MSS of Chrétien and his continuators were expensive and were in the hands of lords and ladies. It is most improbable that our text of the "Elucidation" could have reached England and influenced popular tradition there before the time of Gervasius.

It is, however, possible and indeed probable that the Gawain-book, to which the "Elucidation" was evidently an introduction,³ was known in England, because a number of English Gawain poems, "The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne," "The Weddyng of Syr Gawayne," "The Awntyrs of Arthur," "Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte," are associated with this Gawain-book of Bleheris.⁴ It is difficult to believe, however, that any earlier form of the "Elucidation," such as may have existed prefixed to the lost Gawain-book, has influenced the story told by Gervasius.

¹ Many of these are cited by Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 135-60. Liebrecht, *loc. cit.*, thinks that a story told by William of Newburgh, *Chronica Rerum Anglic.*, lib. 1, cap. 28 (written about 1210), is identical with that in Gervasius because it likewise tells of a cup given to King Henry I. But Henry might have had more than one fairy cup, and William of Newburgh's story is located in Yorkshire, and is of a more common type: A peasant late at night sees the door of a fairy knoll open, and steals a cup from the banquet within.

² J. Nicholson, *Folk-Lore of East Yorkshire* (1890), p. 83, relates a story like that of William of Newburgh, and says that it is current near Bridlington in Yorkshire, and is located at a large mound called "Willey How." The name of the king who received the cup is not mentioned.

³ See above, p. 124.

⁴ See Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 283.

Both of these hypotheses, which we are inclined to reject, presuppose that the "Elucidation" resembled the living folk tale so much that it easily combined with it. They imply that the "Elucidation" was in origin a fairy tale which has been worked over to adapt it to a chivalric romance.

One might turn the hypothesis round and suppose that the "Elucidation" is based upon an earlier version of the folk tale recorded by Gervasius. This suggestion is made by Hartland: The "Elucidation" "seems to be an attempt to fit in a well-known folk tale with the Rich Fisher (or Fisher King) motif in order to account for the disaster that fell on the land."¹ But this borrowing must have taken place before Chrétien's time. Nobody would take the trouble to extract the "Elucidation" as it stands from a folk tale and prefix it to the various pieces that exist in the Mons MS for the purpose of explaining them, because it explains them very poorly. The "Elucidation" must have been attached to the lost Gawain-book, in which we must suppose that the grail was clearly a cup of plenty, so that anybody could see that it was the same sort of thing as the golden cups (grails) that belonged to the damsels of the *puis*, and consequently could see how the "Elucidation" explained the grail romance. The "Elucidation" proves that somebody at a very early time felt that the grail was a fairy cup. No theory of a primarily Christian origin for the grail will explain this fact.

XXVII

Conclusion

The argument of the preceding pages is concerned in part with the comparative study of popular tales. Some people dislike arguments of this character.² For persons of this mathematical turn of mind

¹ Hartland, *Y Cymmrodor*, XXXI (1921), 58.

² The first volume of J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, did not reach me till after the completion of these pages, and I have been able to insert few references to it. The second volume I have not seen. The exact facts, citations, and notes of this first volume make it a useful introduction to the subject, but Bruce's opinions on the origin of the legend have no value, as I think. Like some others who are unacquainted with the language, Bruce felt a prejudice against an Irish source for the grail. His book should be consulted by those who wish to see what can be urged against the present argument. In this connection I notice an error made by Bruce: On page 274 he says, "The sole authority on which this grouping of talismans rests is the seventeenth century Keating," and refers to me in *Kiltredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 236. Whoever will turn to page 236 will find that my authority was not only Keating, but the much older *CMT*. Ample proof exists that various talismans were grouped in the Old Irish period.

the most tangible proof that our argument can bring is that in the oldest grail stories occur three key-words that have been proved to be of Welsh origin: the grail-hero's sword Escalibor = (Welsh) Calet-vwlch = (Irish) Calad-colg; the grail-hero's horse Gringalet = (Welsh) Keincaled; the grail-king Brons = (Welsh) Bran = (Irish) Brion.

Other things point the same way. For example, the grail spear is the slender throwing-javelin of the Irish, and not a great thrusting-spear with its huge kettledrum-like handle which was the weapon of chivalry; the grail castle, as Nitze shows,¹ was built like an Irish house; the grail itself was, in *C*, borne by a lovely maid like the *fée* in Irish *imrama*; Wauchier and *C*, the two oldest accounts, agree in mentioning the Fisher King (28065; Baist 3457), the brilliancy of the grail (28063; B. 3188), the white glitter of the bleeding lance (Potvin, III, p. 370, vs. 73; B. 3154), and in general give a heathen tone to the grail, which is first thoroughly Christianized in the later *Joseph* (by Robert de Boron).

These are facts over which the theory of a purely Christian origin for the grail legend stumbles badly. They are easily explained by our fusion theory, which admits that all extant romances, even Chrétien's *C*, have been touched by ecclesiasticism, but supposes that the underlying basis of the story sprang from Welsh and Irish fairy lore.

The pith of the argument of the preceding pages is as follows: It has been demonstrated that the English *Sir Perceval* is essentially the story of a fairy cup of plenty, and retains a great deal of the fairy machinery. The cup in it is a cruder form of the grail. This romance is inextricably connected with the grail complex. It represents to a great degree the source of the first part of Chrétien's *Conte du Graal*. It is impossible to imagine how a fairy cup of plenty became attached to the oldest form of the grail story, unless the latter was at one time recognized to be itself a cup-of-plenty story.

Should a resolute defender of the theory that the grail is primarily of ecclesiastical origin attempt to elude this argument by declaring that the connection which we have demonstrated may be fortuitous, an answer is ready. The "Elucidation," an entirely separate cup-of-plenty story, is likewise firmly attached to the oldest forms of the

¹ *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, I, 19-51.

grail romance. Its connection is quite independent of that of *Sir Perceval*. No one, I suppose, would maintain that two different fairy-cup stories got attached to the grail legend by mere accident.

Without doubt those who do not agree to the argument of these pages will urge in refutation of it that both *Sp* (ca. 1350), and *El* (the "Elucidation"), at least in their present form, are later than *C* (ca. 1175). They will declare that in spite of internal evidence *Sp* and *El* must derive from *C*. Of course if MS evidence proved that *Sp* was older than *C*, no need would have arisen for these hundred pages of argument. No serious scholar would ever have denied that the grail was primarily of fairy origin. The problem is not so simple as that. We must not, however, allow the late date of our redaction of *Sp* to overturn all internal evidence.

It is not a priori improbable that a romance which exists only in a later version like *Sp* may preserve an earlier form of the story. Whether the best form of a tale is found in an early or a late MS is altogether a matter of chance. One has only to examine the history of other metrical romances to find cases, like that of "Guy and Colebrande," where the Percy Folio (ca. 1650) preserves in some respects a better form of the island-combat story than the Auchinleck MS (ca. 1325) although it is more than 300 years later.¹ To abuse *Sp* as a late and wretched affair is not to the point. We are not declaring that *Sp* is an older or finer romance than *C*, but simply that it better presents the original *données* of the story.

The evidence of *El* cannot be explained away even if we were to grant, which it is not necessary to do, that it had no connection with any grail romance until after *C* was written. Even if we were to put *El* down to the latest possible time (about 1250 at the latest) it would still show that somebody at that early time thought that the grail was a cup of plenty which could be explained by the cups in *El*. That this points the same way as the independent evidence of *Sp* is the significant matter. Proof that the grail was primarily of Celtic origin is convincing.²

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¹ See Koelbing, *Germania*. N.R., XXII (1889), 193.

² My thanks are due to Professors Jenkins and Nitze, and especially to Professor G. L. Kittredge for generous assistance.

TWO STUDIES IN EPIC THEORY

I. VERISIMILITUDE IN THE EPIC

Verisimilitude is a term with sufficiently definite connotation in present-day critical parlance to convey a fairly concise idea to the mind when one finds it employed regarding some novel or play. We speak of the verisimilitude of the characters, the verisimilitude of the plot, etc., meaning merely that the characters or the events bear "a resemblance to the true" and are "true to life." However, the word employed during the Renaissance and the classical period has a far more complex meaning and involves many matters which today are completely disregarded. In the first place, in addition to the meaning of "resemblance to the true" already mentioned, the word was used in the sense of "probability," and we find along with the idea of the "probable," the question of the "marvelous" and of decorum linked inextricably with the discussion of verisimilitude. We have the statement of Minturno, for instance,¹ that "the stable and basic foundation of decorum is the necessary and the 'verisimile'"; and that of Scudéry that, according to the rules which we have from the ancients, "every epic poem is founded on two principles: verisimilitude and the marvelous,"² and one finds the terms "marvelous" and "verisimilar" frequently linked by different writers; and with the marvelous troops that endless body of opinion on the employment of pagan and Christian deities. The word is joined also with the question of the employment of historical fact, which borders on the much-discussed problem of the province of historian and poet. Then, too, one finds the debate touching upon the boundaries of the aesthetic question of the pleasurable aim of poetry, for it is at once evident that no work of art can touch us or please us if it does not have the appearance of truth. There is likewise the philosophical aspect of the word where one finds that the theory of verisimilitude differs from the radical skepticism of Pyrrhon, and

¹ *Arte poetica*, p. 48.

² *Advertissement, Autres Œuvres de M. de Scudéry*, Paris, 1637.

finds Epicurus first formulating propositions from which he deduced the fact that the senses are the only criterion of the true and the false—a matter which it is not my intention to treat here, as I purpose to deal only with the literary connotation of the word. Furthermore, as much has already been said concerning the employment of verisimilitude in tragedy, it is my plan to limit this article to the endeavor to discover what the critical writers in sixteenth-century Italy and France and seventeenth-century France understood when they employed it in reference to the epic. Aristotle himself seems to have differentiated between the employment of the "verisimile" in the epic and in tragedy, for it will be remembered that he states that many events which would appear ludicrous on the stage are permissible in the epic, where the illusion would not be destroyed.

There are accordingly several matters which I intend to treat. It may not be amiss to consider for a moment what Aristotle and Horace had to say regarding this question, for it must be evident to anyone that it was their dictum which influenced to a large extent discussion in the Renaissance and later. I then purpose to show the various discussions of verisimilitude and its implication, then it is my plan to treat in turn the different questions which are intimately connected with the main controversy around verisimilitude, i.e., decorum, the marvelous, and the use of true names, each a separate matter, although, as we have just seen, not so remote, after all, from the principal discussion. Horace says: "Let whatever is imagined for the sake of entertainment have as much likeness to truth as possible; let not your play demand belief for whatever absurdities it is inclined to exhibit nor take out of the witch's belly a living child that she had dined upon,"¹ and again² he observes that the poet "forms his fictions in such a manner and so intermingles the false with the true that the middle is not inconsistent with the beginning, nor the end with the middle."

Aristotle goes into the question at greater length:³

From what we have said it will be seen that the poet's function is to describe, not the thing that has happened, but a kind of thing that might happen, i.e., what is possible as being probable or necessary. The distinction between historian and poet consists really in this, that the one describes

¹ *Ars poetica*, pp. 338 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 150-52.

³ I am employing Professor Bywater's translation of the *Poetica*.

the thing that has been and the other the kind of thing that might be. . . . A likely impossibility is always preferable to an unconvincing possibility. The story should never be made up of improbable incidents. If, however, such incidents are unavoidable they should be outside the piece. The poet being an imitator just like the painter or other maker of likenesses, he must necessarily in all instances represent things in one or other of three aspects—either as they were or are, or as they are said to be or thought to be or to have been, or as they ought to be. Any impossibilities there may be in the poet's description of things are faults. But from another point of view they are justifiable, if they serve the end of poetry itself, or if they make the effect of some portion of the work more astounding. . . . If, however, the poetic end might have been as well or better attained without sacrifice of technical correctness in such matters, the impossibility is not to be justified, since the description should be, if it can, entirely free from error. . . . Speaking generally, one has to justify the impossible by reference to the requirements of poetry, or to the better, or to opinion. The improbable one has to justify either by showing it to be in accordance with opinion, or by urging that at times it is not improbable; for there is a probability of things happening also against probability.

There is another form of the impossible which, according to Aristotle, may be admitted into poetry; these are stories of the gods, of which it is enough to say that whether true or false, above or below reality, "yet so runs the tale." The whole tenor and purpose of the *Poetics* makes it clear that Aristotle does not consider poetry to be a mere reproduction of fact, a picture of life with all its trivialities. The world of the possible which poetry creates is more intelligible than the world of experience. Poetic truth passes the bounds of reality, but it does not wantonly violate the laws which make the real world rational. Poetry, Aristotle means to say—as Professor Butcher points out—is not concerned with fact but with what transcends fact; it represents things which are not and never can be in actual experience. It is the prerogative of the poet "to tell lies skilfully." "The fiction here intended is not simply the fiction which is blended with the fact in every poetic narrative of real events. The reference here is rather to those tales of a strange and marvelous character which are admitted into the epic more fully than into dramatic poetry."¹ The justification for the introduction of such stories is for Aristotle the heightened wonder. The twice-cited instance of the pursuit of Hector in the *Iliad* illustrates the general conditions under

¹ S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London, 1895, p. 160.

which he would allow the license. If represented on the stage the incident would appear highly improbable and even ludicrous. The scene enacted before the eyes of the beholder would destroy the poetic illusion, whereas in epic narrative the effect produced would be powerfully imaginative. But even as an epic incident it is only justified if the effect is impressive, and if a like effect could not have been produced by other means.

The first mention of the word "verisimilitude" which I have been able to discover in sixteenth-century criticism, occurs in the *Poetica* of Daniello, in 1536,¹ and although there is no attempt at definition, elsewhere² he cautions the poet to write "al vero somigliante," from which one would judge that for him verisimilitude was a "resemblance to the true"—the generally accepted meaning of the word during the sixteenth century as well as later.

Robortelli contends that the poet deals with things as they ought to be, but he can either appropriate actual fact, or he can invent his material. He may narrate things not as they really happened, but as they ought to happen. For example, Xenophon, in describing Cyrus, does not depict him as he really was, but as the best king that could be. Is it possible and verisimilar, continues Robortelli, that the gods should eat ambrosia and drink nectar, as Homer describes, and that Cerberus should have several heads, as we learn in Vergil? The answer is that poets can invent in two ways, that is, either in accordance with nature or by transcending nature. In the first case, things must be in keeping with the laws of probability or necessity; in the second, the poet should bear in mind the inference that unknown things are subject to the same laws as the things we know. The poets accept the existence of the gods from the common notion of men, and then treat all that relates to those deities from this point of view.

Giraldi Cinthio urges that the poet take the greatest care that the actions which he chooses for the subject and for the foundation of the whole fabric of his work carry with them so much verisimilitude that they be credible, and that one part so depend upon the other that either by necessity or verisimilitude one action develops from the other; the poet should not do as Trissino has done in the story of "Faulo and Ligridonia" which is introduced in his *Italia liberata*

¹ P. 78.

² P. 42.

beyond all necessity and dependence.¹ As regards this "verisimile," continues Giraldis, it must be recognized that not only that which happened "verisimilmente" can be regarded as "verisimile," but also that which from custom has come to be accepted by poets as "verisimile." This is what Aristotle meant when he said that it was not beyond probability that many improbable things might happen, but Giraldis also adds that unless the reader believes what he reads, his spirit cannot be moved by the poem, a statement which Boileau reiterates in his famous line:

L'esprit n'est point ému de ce qu'il ne croit pas.²

Minturno is more specific. The narration, he says, will be verisimilar if those things which are narrated correspond to the persons, the times, the places, and causes; if things seem to be related as if they had happened in a possible manner or "simile al vero."³

Pigna, disagreeing with Robortelli and Giraldis that custom is the arbiter of the matter, maintains that it is not according to verisimilitude that the gods be subjected to passions like men, and only because custom has introduced this, to say that it is "verisimile" that the gods laugh and weep and are perturbed. Pigna is thus, in a way, a forerunner in the question of the inclusion of the deities in the poem.

Lionardi says that the epic imitates the too true, i.e., what has actually happened, and the "verisimile" together, and that the latter colors and enriches the former. Castelvetro does not group the two elements. Truth, he says, was naturally before verisimilitude because verisimilitude depends on truth. Verisimilitude, for Castelvetro, is a matter of great importance. One of the greatest faults in composing the fable, he states, is to err as regards verisimilitude, although he considers it a much greater sin to contradict history than to sin against verisimilitude.⁴ The poet ought to be on his guard against such errors as those committed by Ariosto in the question of religion when he caused Fiordispina, a Mohammedan, to tell a Christian that she had been transformed into a Fate. Castelvetro contends that possible things do not ever occupy all the plot of the epic. In

¹ G. B. Giraldis Cinthio, *Discorsi*, Vinegia, 1554, p. 54.

² *Art poétique*, III, 50.

³ *Arte poetica*, p. 22.

⁴ *La poetica d'Aristotele, vulgarizzata et sposta*, Vienna, 1570, p. 188.

the heroic poem are portrayed not only those events which may possibly happen but those which have actually occurred, or, in other words, things which poetry has in common with the truths of history. Hence it is, he continues, that the plot of every epic poem should be partly composed of events which may be called historical, although Aristotle did not hold this view. Castelvetro does not believe that incredible things can cause the hearer to marvel, for the mere fact that they cannot be believed will fail to awaken any sense of wonder.

Torquato Tasso makes the statement¹ that imitation cannot be separated from the "verisimile" because the word signifies as much "to imitate" as "to make similar," and continues saying that verisimilitude is not one of those conditions required in poetry to increase its beauty, but is an intrinsic part of its essence, and the most important element. Both the marvelous and the "verisimile" must exist together in a perfect effect, and, difficult as the task may seem, they must be reconciled. Tasso points out that probability and verisimilitude are, after all, relative terms, inasmuch as that which is credible and verisimilar to the Christian would not be necessarily verisimilar to the pagan.

Among sixteenth-century Italian critics we find, then, a certain diversity of opinion. Custom and opinion is to be the criterion of judgment of the employment of verisimilitude for Robortelli and Giraldi, whereas Pigna holds the contrary view. For Lionardi the imitation of historical truth and verisimilitude in the epic is of equal importance, but for Castelvetro the observance of verisimilitude is subordinate to that of historical truth. Tasso takes exception to this view, for he contends that verisimilitude is an intrinsic element in the epic that cannot be disregarded, although there may be a certain relativity in its employment.

Ronsard, likewise differing from Castelvetro, believes that the poet should not follow truth as a historian does. Ronsard says: "Il [i.e., the poet] a pour maxime très nécessaire en son art de ne suivre jamais pas à pas la vérité, mais la vray-semblance, et le possible; et sur le possible, et sur ce qui se peut faire, il bastit son ouvrage, laissant la véritable narration aux Historiographes,"²

¹ *Discorsi dell'arte poetica*, p. 201. "Perocchè tanto significa imitare, quanto far simile."

² Second Preface to *Franciade*. *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1887-93, III, 524.

and later, he says: "J'ay basty ma Franciade, sans me soucier si cela est vray ou non, ou si nos Roys sont Troyens ou Germain, Seythes ou Arabes; si Francus est venu en France ou non, car il y pouvoit venir, me servant du possible, et non de la verité."

Already in the sixteenth century, then, we find Ronsard offering the palm to the poet who would substitute most frequently fiction for truth, an idea which is echoed by Vauquelin:

Ainsi dedans les vers le faux entrelassé
Avec le vray-semblant d'un conte du passé,
Nous emeut, nous chatouille, et nous poind davantage
Que l'estude qu'on met à polir son ouvrage,
Sans faire une meslange, une varieté,
Qui ne suit, mensongere, en rien la verité. [ii, 273.]

Lemoyne agrees with Ronsard: "The more one invents outside of history, the more a poet one is."¹

On the other hand, Scudéry holds the opposite view; he contends that the subject of the epic poem ought to be more true than invented. Castelvetro, "whose opinions are not all equally well founded," says Scudéry, wishes to persuade us that the subject of the heroic poem must be absolutely fabulous, but if that were the case, he continues, the *Iliad* would be defective and the *Aeneid* would be worthless, for the siege of Troy is true and Aeneas came to Italy according to the usual belief of authors. Scudéry, curiously enough, is misquoting Castelvetro when he says that he wishes us to believe that the epic must be fabulous, for it has already been shown that Castelvetro contended that the plot of every epic poem should be composed of events which may be called historical. Scudéry believes, then, that the subject of the heroic poem ought to be true rather than invented, because the epic poet must above all respect verisimilitude, for it is unquestionably an assured fact that the actions which are verisimilar, more especially when they have some grain of truth among their lies, are more suitable to move one to compassion than those where the lie is evident to anyone.

Saint-Amant explains² that he has introduced into his poem persons of whom sacred history does not speak. Even though all

¹ Preface to *Saint-Louis*.

² Preface to *Mojse Sauré*.

things in the Bible are equally true, they are not all of equal importance, and those things which are merely a matter of history can sometimes be manipulated at the poet's fancy, for "a lie is not a lie when one does not wish to make it pass as truth." Scudéry says that the argument should be taken from Christian history. Following the ideas already expressed by Pigna and contending that the subject of the epic poem ought not to be taken from the stories of paganism—for all these imaginary gods destroy absolutely the epic in destroying the verisimilitude which is the very foundation of the poem—Scudéry states that the argument should be taken from Christian history, but not from sacred history ("histoire sainte"), for one cannot, without profanation, alter the truth of it, and without invention which is the poet's chief asset, it is almost impossible for the epic to have all its beauty.

In the *Avis au lecteur* of the *Lutrin*, Boileau says: "Je ne ferai point ici comme l'Arioste qui, quelquefois sur le point de débiter la fable du monde la plus absurde, la garantit vraie d'une vérité reconnue, et l'appuie même de l'autorité de l'Archevêque Turpin. Pour moi, je déclare franchement que tout le Poème du Lutrin n'est qu'une pure fiction." Boileau, while recognizing the fact that Tasso was a great genius, reproaches him for the fact that he employed the "merveilleux chrétien" and for his disdain for verisimilitude.

On this point Desmarests de Saint Sorlin¹ says:

En ce point sont d'accord les critiques divers,
Que le seul vray-semblable est l'appuy des beaux vers.
D'Homère tous les chants ne sont que des mensonges;
Et semblent un ramas de ridicules songes.
Car il ne suffit pas, pour fonder leur beauté,
Que Troye et son malheur soient une vérité.
Il ne peut inventer des sujets vray-semblables,
Puis que nuls de ses Dieux ne sont Dieux véritables.

But he concludes in complete accord with Scudéry's contention that truth is the basic element of the heroic poem:

Mais nostre seule loy donne en sa vérité
Un fond sur qui l'on feint avec autorité;
Le vray-semblable y prend sa force toute entiere,
De la vérité seule empruntant sa lumiere,

¹ *La Défense du Poème Heroïque*. Paris, 1674.

and later on in the same work he states that there can be no heroic poetry if the fictions are not founded on verisimilitude, "qui a son fonds unique sur la verité des choses surnaturelles que nous croyons." It will be remembered that Boileau had said:

Rien n'est beau que le vrai.

Le Bossu claims that truth and verisimilitude exist together. Truth, he says,¹ and verisimilitude can be found together, since a thing which is true can appear such. But sometimes truth is without verisimilitude, as in some miraculous and extraordinary actions. Sometimes, also, he adds, verisimilitude is without truth, as in the ordinary fictions of the poets.

It is interesting to note that Charles Perrault makes the identical statement,² using the same words: "Having established the truth of this story, it would seem useless to prove the verisimilitude of it, as there are verisimilar things which are not true, and there are also true things which are not verisimilar."

Le Bossu discusses verisimilitude according to theology, to morality, to nature, to reason, to experience, and to opinion, concluding, after many pages of wordiness that the principal kind of verisimilitude is the last, i.e., according to common opinion. In other words, a thing is verisimilar when it seems true. What Homer and Vergil have written will be true to the ordinary reader, although savants will read conflicting statements in history. Nevertheless, these poets, while neglecting history, have, by doing so, made their plots more persuasive. At the same time, the loftiness of the subject has obliged the poets to speak in a manner above the average, and they incur the risk, by employing the divine and the miraculous, of ruining the verisimilitude, without which an action is less capable of persuasion. There is a difference between fiction and falsity, between being verisimilar and not verisimilar. The poet is told to feign, but he is not ordered to lie.

Of all the writers of seventeenth-century France whom we have discussed there seems to be only one who does not stress the importance of verisimilitude. We find Jacquelin in the Preface to *Hélie* (1661) saying: "Je ne me suis gueres attaché aux embellissemens

¹ *Traité du Poëme Epique*, Paris, 1675, p. 327.

² *Epistre de Saint Paulin*, Paris, 1686.

ordinaires de la Poesie, comme sont les figures, les descriptions, les vray-semblances, les comparaisons et tous les autres qui se trouvent dans les pieces de cette sorte," but he is the exception.

Another element involved is that of decorum. As Professor Spingarn has already pointed out,¹ the Renaissance conception of decorum is derived from the passage in the fifteenth chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics* in which it is stated that the characters should be drawn with propriety, that is, in keeping with the type to which they belong. This gave rise to a curious conception of decorum in which every old man should have such and such characteristics, every young man others, and every Parisian, every Venetian, etc., should be immediately recognizable. This difference in character, linked with distinction in rank, found its authority likewise in Horace's

Aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores. [154.]

Professor Spingarn sees a twofold nature in this Renaissance conception of decorum. The first was an attempt to transpose the purely rhetorical distinctions of character into the domain of poetry; the second was the much deeper question of social distinctions.

The discussion of decorum is to be found in all the critics from the time of Vida.² Daniello gives a concise definition of decorum, as the Latins called it, or "convenevolezza," as the Italians named it, when he points out that the speech of the characters should be in keeping with their quality, dignity, habit, office, and age, and the customs and habits of each age should be recognized; besides that, the condition and the country of the personages introduced should be evident; it should be manifest, for instance, whether they are gods or men, and if men, whether they are merchants or farmers, Italians or French, Venetians or Florentines, etc., by giving to each character proper actions and suitable words.

Giraldi Cinthio's definition is shorter. He says that decorum is that which is suitable to times, places, and persons. The ancients, he continues, said that decorum was that beauty and grace which

¹ J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1899, p. 85.

² Vida, *De Arte Poetica* (1527), II, 468-71, has:

Et quoniam in nostro multi persaepe loquuntur
Carminē, verba illis pro conditione virorum
Aut rerum damus, et proprii tribuuntur honores
Cuique suus, seu mas, seu femina, sive deus sit.

arose from the forms of speech, which, joined with judgment and measures, carried with them some demonstration of moral conduct ("costume"). Decorum is nothing less than, he contends, than the grace and suitableness of things, and it ought to be considered not only as regards actions but as regards speech and the conversation of the personages. For instance, a king would address another king differently from the manner in which he would speak to a vassal. He concludes by striking a new note, a matter which one finds discussed and argued in seventeenth-century France. It is not fitting to introduce God in the poem, he says, and it is entirely out of all decorum to mix pagan with Christian subjects. This, it is important to note, is for Giraldis only a question of decorum. This is a forerunner of the statement of Torquato Tasso, who is generally accredited with being the initiator of the discussion. Tasso is usually referred to as the first to state the question of the propriety of the introduction of pagan gods when dealing with Christian subjects, or vice versa;¹ the fact that Giraldis Cinthio was really the first to state this is worth mentioning. With Tasso it was not merely a question of decorum, but a broader matter of verisimilitude and the marvelous. For him the heroic poem must deal with the history, not of a false religion, but of a true one—Christianity, since the religion of the pagans is not suited for epic material, for if pagan gods are introduced, the element of probability will be lacking. He goes further than Giraldis had done by stating that the epic must deal with themes connected with articles of Christian faith.²

Minturno makes the question of decorum cover all that can befall the hero, thus giving it a broader significance, although he urges the poet to keep in mind the place, the age, the fortune, the condition of the character he is describing, according to the dictates of necessity and of verisimilitude. The stable and basic foundation of decorum is the necessary and the "verisimile," he adds, and just as in the imitation of things themselves so in the description of the habits, the poet ought to observe the quality of the personages. Scaliger is perhaps more specific when he says that the poet should observe

¹ Cf. J. E. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.

² This opens up a discussion, lasting till the end of the next century in France, which I intend treating more at length at another time.

"et aetas, et habitus, et habitudo, et officium, et instrumenta." In Minturno and Scaliger one finds every detail of character analyzed; the poet is told how young men and old men should act and talk and dress. It was fixed formulas such as these, concerning which no latitude was allowed, that militated against the development of character in neo-classic drama and made of the epic heroes such lifeless puppets of straw. Professor Spingarn has already noted the fact¹ that the observance of decorum had become so essential that Muzio and Capriano both considered Homer's failure always to heed it as a serious ground for criticism. In comparing Vergil with Homer, Capriano says that the former surpasses the latter in dignity and grandeur of style, but especially in decorum.²

So universally accepted did this idea of decorum become that in France we find writers either taking its observance for granted or merely giving a passing reference to the matter, treating it exactly as the Italians had done. One sees Vauquelin, for example, stating that the poet

Quand il luy fait à Didon raconter
Le piteux sac de Troye, il luy fait emprunter
Les gestes, les discours, la posture et les âges
(Lorsqu'il les fait parler) de plusieurs personnages,

and discovers Le Laboureur approaching the matter from a somewhat different viewpoint when he states that there should be nothing in the life of the hero which would shock the customs, the interests, and the religion of the readers, and assures us that he has endeavored to give to the customs he has portrayed "toute la vray semblance la plus naturelle et toutes les couleurs les plus douces."

As early as 1536 Paccius, in his Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, recognized, following the words of the Stagirite, that the marvelous was more adapted to the epic than to tragedy, because the actor is not usually before the eyes of the beholder in the heroic poem,³ Giraldi states the matter differently. Aristotle has shown us, he says, that the marvelous is suitable to heroic and great compositions, and that for that end a falsehood is more useful than the truth, because

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

² *Della vera poetica*, Vinegia, 1555.

³ A. Paccius, *Aristotelis Poetica*, Venetis, p. 25.

the marvelous is born from the false, for it could hardly arise from true things universally recognized as such, for there is nothing marvelous in that which frequently and naturally occurs, but there is a great deal in that which appears impossible.¹

The epic, says Minturno, writing a few years later, awakens marvel in the minds of the hearers more than any other form of poetry. Who does not know that the end of poetry is producing wonderment,² an idea which Scaliger reflects when he says that the greatest virtue of the poet is in holding the reader in suspense until the last word. Those things make us marvel, Minturno continues, which happen beyond our belief, especially when they are so united that one event seems to follow reasonably from and depend upon another, because things which happen by chance are more marvelous, for they cause us to believe that they happened by divine counsel. Because marvel is born both from the things and the words, we repute those things marvelous which are not vainly invented, but prudently and wonderfully conceived and disposed in a splendid arrangement. There is then for Minturno, aside from the pleasure which the marvelous excited, the additional element arising from the skill of the poet, who inspires his readers with awe. This point of view coincides with that of Castelvetro who says that the end of poetry is delight and the marvelous specially causes delight. Some may ask, Castelvetro says, why the marvelous is required in tragedy and even more in the epic. The answer is that the end of poetry is delight, and the marvelous is employed so that poetry may attain its end; and he adds that it is more marvelous when a change is made in the fortunes of a character in a very limited time and a very limited space. Tasso, too, shows that he considers the marvelous an important element of epic poetry when he says that the inherent delight of the epic is perhaps the marvelous.³ Huet⁴ contrasts thus the epic and the roman: "Les poèmes ont plus de merveilleux, quoique toujours vraisemblables; les romans ont plus du vraisemblable, quoiqu'ils aient quelquefois du merveilleux." Thus all agree that the marvelous is one of the most important elements in the epic poem.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

³ *Arte poetica*, Venezia, 1564, p. 120.

⁴ *De l'Origine des Romans*, p. 349.

The twofold nature of the marvelous of which Minturno made mention is also in the mind of Vauquelin when he wrote the passage already cited:

Ainsi dedans les vers le faux entrelassé,
Avec le vray-sembant d'un conte du passé,
Nous emeut, nous chatouille et nous poid davantage
Que l'estude qu'on met à polir son ouvrage.

Vauquelin, holding the contrary viewpoint to that of Boileau, demands the suppression of pagan subjects and of the marvelous which accompanies them. He thus refutes in advance Boileau's contention. According to Vauquelin, the best manner of imitating the ancients is to sing as they did of the beliefs, the customs, and the glories of France.

For Boileau, as for Tasso and Minturno, an essential condition of epic poetry is the employment of the marvelous. As he says, it "se soutient par la fable et vit de fiction," otherwise the poetry would languish and die. This, of course, is a fundamental error on the part of Boileau which was for him the source of many others. Epic poetry has not as its aim and task the causing of marvel in the public by something supernatural. Boileau's formula is too narrow, as is that of Tasso and Minturno. Furthermore, he counsels the authors of his time to employ exclusively the "merveilleux païen." Having in mind Tasso's poem, Boileau would have us believe that an epic poem based on the "merveilleux chrétien" can succeed, but if it succeeds, it is not on account of this marvelous element, but in spite of it; but there is no doubt of the fact that for Boileau the only safe course for the poet is to employ the "merveilleux païen." Boileau, considering the marvelous in the epic to be only a mass of fictions, hopes to exclude from this sort of poem God, the saints, and the prophets, on the ground that the introduction of such venerated beings would serve only to render them less lofty. For Boileau the marvelous is only a literary system of symbolic fictions; in the eyes of Lemoyne, Chapelain, Desmarets, it is a living assemblage of personages not less real, not less indispensable than the heroes. For them, heaven, hell, the saints, etc., are the necessary actors in the poem. There is a great diversity of opinion. Coras, in the Preface to his *Jonas*¹ contends that he finds the single conversion of Nineveh

¹ *Jonas ou Ninive penitente*, Paris, 1663.

much more marvelous than the taking of Troy. Scudéry¹ while insisting that invention is almost impossible in subjects taken from sacred history, excepts the work of his friend Saint-Amant on the grounds that the life of Moses has all the marvelous that invention could give it. For Godeau, as for many of his Italian predecessors, the marvelous is of supreme importance, but he does not always see in religious subjects matter marvelous enough for epic treatment. In his preface to *Saint-Paul* (1654) he says: "I think there is no one who will not agree that the martyrdom of Saint Paul is not a very rich matter. For, in truth, there does not seem much else to say except that he had his head cut off, which is very verisimilar, but not marvelous, and consequently cannot be the subject of a heroic poem." The fact that a matter is not marvelous would exclude it from the poem.

Frénicle says:² "Quand il s'agit de la grandeur de Dieu, et les mystères de l'Evangile, il semble que l'on doive changer de maximes et de reigles, d'autant que toutes les actions divines sont merveil-leuses ... il ne faut pas avoir recours à la vraisemblance quand les veritez se trouvent si parfaites." It is interesting to see that Desmarets in referring to the same idea³ expresses it in just the reverse manner: "Dans les sujets saints et divins, il y a de bien plus nobles caracteres d'esprits, et de bien plus merveilleux mouvemens du cœur à représenter, que dans les sujets heroïques. Parce qu'ils ont la verité pour fondement ils ne doivent jamais se départir du Vray-semblable dans leurs inventions, fictions, et comparaisons." For Frénicle it is not necessary to pay attention to verisimilitude since the truth is so manifest; for Desmarets the fact that truth is the very foundation of the work makes it all the more necessary not to depart from verisimilitude. Desmarets contends that there is a great deal of difference between a heroic subject of which the principal personage is only a man of worth, in which the marvelous and the supernatural appear only as helps or hindrances to heaven or hell, in what is ordinarily termed machines invented by the poet, and a subject of which the principal personage is God who by himself does such marvelous

¹ Preface to *Alaric*.

² Preface to *Jesus Crucifié*, 1636.

³ Preface to *Marie Madeleine*, Paris, 1669.

things that all the poet has to do is to represent them according to truth, with rich figures to call the admiration of the reader. Writing a few years later,¹ he seems to put the matter on the basis of the religion of the hero, thus lining up definitely with neither side in the controversy. The epic poem, he says, must have fictions to be a poem and these fictions in order to be received by the judgment of the reader must be verisimilar, and "all the marvelous and the supernatural must be founded on the religion of the hero whom one takes for subject."

For Le Bossu, there is a possible conflict between the marvelous and verisimilitude.² The fact that poets have become moral philosophers introducing God into their works has obliged them to make the action of their poems great and important. They must think and speak in a manner above the ordinary. But all that, being divine and miraculous, can ruin the verisimilitude, without which an action is less capable of persuasion. In this the poet must be careful, he warns, since his first aim is to instruct. He believes that the best guide in determining the extent to which the marvelous can be pushed is that of common sense, to be acquired largely by the reading of good authors and even by comparing with them the shortcomings of the poor ones. The dramatic writers pay more attention to verisimilitude than to the marvelous whereas the epic authors give chief place to "l'admirable," the epic having the advantage of employing "machines" which exceed natural verisimilitude.

Thus it will be seen that there is complete accord among the critics on the question of the importance of the part played by the marvelous in the epic poem, although there is by no means agreement regarding its nature. In fact, the striking diversity of ideas concerning the latter brings us face to face with the matter of the personal and the impersonal element in poetry, a subject not within the province of this article. Because a poet is a Christian is he to restrict his imagination to Christian subjects? Is there to be an intimate connection between what the poet personally believes and the feelings he creates in the poem? These and other debatable points held the attention of seventeenth-century theorists, with voices raised for and

¹ *La Defense du Poëme Heroïque*, Paris, 1674.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

against those who, like Godeau, claimed that even a Christian, when writing, becomes a pagan. This whole question I intend treating at another time.

A matter which is connected with this general discussion, although of minor importance, is that of the employment of true names. Robortelli initiates a discussion regarding the employment of true names which endures through the century. If the names are invented, he says, it is evident that the personages are invented and likewise their deeds. The epic, nevertheless, retains some true actions and consequently employs true names. Pigna, too, sees the origin of the invention of the subject-matter in the invention of names. First, he says, true facts were attributed to true persons, then facts which had not really happened, and as the facts came to be entirely made up from the imagination of the poet, so were the persons really invented. He points out that Ariosto has, for the most part, employed true names of the places of which he speaks. Minturno, recognizing the use of true names in the epic—in Vergil and Homer, for example—asserts that this does not mean that poets depart from universal facts. Castelvetro points out that if the poet were to introduce new names for famous kings known historically on account of their notable actions, he would be contradicting history and sinning against manifest truth. But the epic can use some invented names, he continues, because the action is real; however, it can only have the appearance of reality by using true names of the king whose actions are described or who has a part in the action. But the names of the other persons may be imagined, especially if they are people whose names are not usually recorded in the book of fame. Nobles and kings are never accustomed to name the servants except by their office; they are called secretary, butler, etc. This usage is preserved by tragic poets for greater effect of verisimilitude, but it is not followed by epic poets because in their narration they can readily introduce imagined and invented names for such characters. Castelvetro concludes, however, that the poet who composes his epic plot with real names taken from history ought not to be esteemed less a poet than the one who composes a plot containing all the events and names imagined and invented; on the contrary, he thinks the former should be esteemed the greater poet.

Ronsard cannot believe¹ that Priam, Hector, Alexander, and the rest, all of whom have Greek names invented by Homer, have ever existed, for if they really did, the Trojan chiefs would have borne the name of their Phrygian country. As a consequence, Ronsard contends that it is easy to see that the Trojan War was invented by Homer.

In the seventeenth century we find Saint-Amant² asserting that he has used "des noms fabuleux" such as "l'Olimpe au lieu du Ciel, l'Herebe ou l'Averne au lieu de l'Enfer" only to render things more poetic, an idea with which Boileau seems in complete accord when he says:

La fable offre à l'esprit mille agréments divers:
Là tous les noms heureux semblent nés pour les vers,
Ulysse, Agamemnon, Oreste, Idoménée,
Hélène, Ménélas, Paris, Hector, Enée ...
D'un seul nom quelquefois le son dur ou bizarre
Rend un poème entier ou burlesque ou barbare.

Coras, in the Preface to *Jonas*, disagrees entirely with this point of view. He cannot endure, on religious grounds, the fact that a poet mixes Jupiter with the God of Abraham, nor Orpheus with Jesus, nor Hercules with Samson, and concludes by saying: "Je ferois conscience de me servir des noms de Neptune, de Vulcain, et de Cybele, pour exprimer la mer, le feu, et la terre."

It will readily be seen that the discussion of verisimilitude falls into several subdivisions, as was stated at the outset, for the word connotes more in the sixteenth century than it does at the present time, when such matters as the rules relating to the marvelous and decorum are no longer observed. The fact will at once be evident that it was Aristotelian and Horatian doctrine which initiated largely the discussions of the various phases of this question throughout the period we have treated, and for that reason the rather dangerous conclusion that there is to be seen evident influence of Italian theorists on those of France has been purposely avoided. I have been content with merely indicating the striking similarities. Everyone knows that the theoretical controversy of sixteenth-century Italy has

¹ P. de Ronsard, *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1887-93, III, p. 515.

² Preface to *Mojse sauvé*.

shaped and molded, in great measure, the critical ideas of seventeenth-century France, and the discussion of verisimilitude is only an interesting confirmation of this fact. I have endeavored to separate from the entanglements of theoretical verbiage, that seemed in some cases a heritage from the later Renaissance, the material contributions to the question under review, not with an idea of merely cataloguing the items, but with the purpose of showing the nature of the controversy and the original material which each writer has contributed. It has been shown that the discussion of the word "verisimilitude" cannot be separated from the question of the employment of the marvelous, of decorum, and of true names in the epic, all of these elements involving to a greater or less degree the implication of a resemblance to truth. If the attempt of the poet to produce wonder in his hearers departs too markedly from truth, he fails; if he does not observe strictly the well-known attributes of his several personages, he does not succeed in producing his effect; if he invents too palpably the names he gives his characters, the reader loses faith somewhat in the truth of the story itself. Definitions serve us up to a certain point, but beyond that there is a vast domain of the subjective which cannot be measured. "What is verisimilitude?" asks Lemaître writing in 1883 an article on Daudet in the *Revue bleue*. "Is it the same for everybody?" And curiously enough, he replies to his own query in the very words which Torquato Tasso employed in the sixteenth century, i.e., that it is, after all has been said, a relative term.

II. PLAGIARISM BY SCUDÉRY OF TASSO'S EPIC THEORY

Attention has never been called, so far as I know, to the interesting bit of plagiarism on the part of Scudéry, one of the best-known writers of the heroic poem in seventeenth-century France, when he borrows whole passages from Tasso's *Discorso del Poema Heroico*, in writing his Preface to *Alaric ou Rome vaincûe*. It is all the more interesting in view of the fact that Scudéry so insistently denies it. In speaking of his own poem, he says:

Je sçay que l'invention est plus approuvée que l'imitation, je me suis servy que rarement de cette dernière. ... Si j'ay pris quelque chose dans les Grecs et dans les Latins, je n'ay rien pris du tout dans les Italiens, dans les Espagnols, ny dans les François: me semblant que ce qui est estude chez les Anciens, est vollerie chez les Modernes.

I am, of course, concerned here only with the theory of the epic as outlined in his Preface to *Alaric ou Rome vaincuë*, and do not intend to discuss the well-known fact that, in spite of Scudéry's assertion that he has taken nothing at all from the Italians or the other moderns, his poem itself is in large measure influenced by the *Gerusalemme liberata*, a fact which was recognized even in the seventeenth century in France, and which has been clearly brought out in the dissertation of Reinhold Reumann, *Georges de Scudéry als Epiker*.¹ Herr Reumann, however, although he finds many passages within the poem itself which are unquestionably influenced by or borrowed from Tasso, accepts Scudéry's Preface as his own, and not once in the whole dissertation, even in those places where he quotes it at length to show Scudéry's views, does he suspect for one moment that he is really quoting Tasso.

One who knows anything about Scudéry is justified in being skeptical about the list of authorities whom he claims to have consulted, especially as there is little internal evidence that he has read them at all, except in one or two cases. It is an impressive assemblage of critical writers whom he summons before the eyes of the unsuspecting seventeenth-century reader.

J'ay consulté les Maîtres là dessus: c'est à dire Aristote et Horace: et après eux Macrobe, Scaliger, le Tasse, Castelvetro, Piccolomini, Vida, Vossius, Pacius, Ricobon, Robortel, Paul Benni, Mambrun, et plusieurs autres: et passant de la Theorie à la Pratique, j'ay relu fort exactement l'*Iliade* et l'*Odyssée* d'Homere; l'*Eneïde* de Virgile; la *Guerre civile* de Lucain; la *Thebaïde* de Stace; les *Rolands amoureux et furieux* de Boyardo et de l'Arioste; l'incomparable *Hierusalem delivrée* du fameux Torquato; et grand nombre d'autres Poèmes Epiques en diverses Langues.

* In another place he says: "Voicy les Regles comme je l'ay dit, tirées de celles d'Aristote; du Tasse; et de tous ces autres Grands hommes." The "other great men," whom he shows evidence of having read at first hand, I should limit to approximately two or three besides Tasso, namely, Castelvetro and Robortelli, for almost the entire Preface is merely a plagiarism of the *Discorso del Poema Heroico*.

Even a casual reading of the Preface will suffice to make patent the fact that there must be considerable influence, for one finds

¹ Leipzig, 1911.

frequent mention of the author of the *Jerusalem Delivered*. Scudéry, furthermore, is not slow to acknowledge in several places his indebtedness to Tasso. For instance, he says:

L'illustre Sujet du Poème Epique, ne doit point estre pris maintenant, à mon advis, des Histoires du Paganisme: parce (comme je viens de le dire, et comme le Tasse l'a dit devant moy) que tous ces Dieux imaginaires, destruisent absolument l'Épopée, en destruisant la vray-semblance, qui en est tout le fondement.

And again:

Que si de la premiere constitution de la Fable, nous passons aux Mœurs, qui en sont la partie la plus importante; le Tasse me pardonnera, si j'appelle de luy à luy-mesme: lors qu'il dit dans ses *Discours Poétiques*, que la Morale n'est pas l'objet du Poète, qui ne doit songer qu'à divertir.

Scudéry then continues, saying that Tasso has later published a retraction in the third stanza of his great poem, and quoting eight lines of the *Jerusalem Delivered*. Scudéry sees in Tasso's contention that allegory ought to be present throughout the epic poem justification for believing that the poet ought at least to think as much of the useful as the enjoyable, and that his chief aim should be to instruct. He points out that Tasso has printed at the end of the *Jerusalem Delivered* a long treatise on allegory, in which he shows that there is not a single action in all his poem which is not instructive. Again, when Scudéry desires to justify the selection of the title of his poem, *Alaric ou Rome vaincuë*, when Homer and Vergil had named their works more shortly the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Aeneid*, he says that Tasso is his guaranty, he having named his poem *Il Godfredo overo la Gerusalemme liberata*. There are, then, several references to Tasso—about twenty in all—which the casual reader might remark, but on analyzing the Preface, one discovers evidences of influence which has not been acknowledged.

In the first place, Scudéry entitles his Preface a "Discours de l'Épopée"; Tasso had named his work *Discorso del Poema Heroico*. Tasso says there are four parts to the epic, "fable, costume, sentenza, elocution"; Scudéry deals with the epic under these same headings—"fable, mœurs, sentences, élocution." Tasso mentions the figures of speech as being hyperbole, prosopopea, metaphors, and similes; Scudéry mentions the same figures and treats them in the same order.

Both Scudéry and Tasso treat the marvelous and verisimile together; Tasso compares epic and romanzi, Scudéry compares epic and roman. Tasso mentions the differences between tragedy, epic, and comedy, as Aristotle had pointed them out; Scudéry does the same. When speaking of love in the poem, Tasso mentions "quegli scrittori Spagnuoli"; in this same connection Scudéry quotes from Guevarra, "l'un des plus beaux esprits de toute l'Espagne." Tasso quotes "Hoc opus, hic labor est"; Scudéry does likewise. Both mention the "errors" of geography, both mention Hannibal and Scipio, both deal with the "proposition" and invocation.

So far, these matters are not in themselves conclusive, but when we proceed to a comparison of passages, we discover that Scudéry has copied word for word from Tasso, constituting what seems to be a clear case of plagiarism.

SCUDÉRY

Je dis donc, que celui qui compose un Poëme Epique, doit songer principalement à trois choses.

A choisir une Matiere qui soit propre à recevoir la plus excellente Forme que l'Artifice du Poëte luy pourra donner.

A luy donner cette Forme, telle que je viens de dire.

Et à embellir des plus rares Ornaments dont elle puisse estre capable [p. 2].

Voilà, Lecteur, quelle doit estre la Matiere du Poëme Epique: c'est à dire en peu de paroles, l'autorité de l'Histoire, l'usage receu de la Religion; la license de la fiction Poëtique; et la Grandeur des evenemens [p. 9].

Il en est de trois especes: le sublime; le mediocre; et le bas [p. 13].

Ayant à traiter icy de l'elocution, il faut par consequent que je parle

TASSO

A trè cose dee haver riguardo, Illustriss. Signore, ciascuno che di scriver poema Heroico si prepone: a sceglier materia tale, che sia atta a ricever in se quella più eccellente forma, che è l'artificio del poeta cerca d'introdurci; a darle tal forma, e a vestirla ultimamente con que' più rari ornamenti, ch'alla natura di lei siano convenienti [p. 19].

Eccovi, Signor Scipione, le conditioni che giudizioso poeta dee nella materia ricercare, lequali, repilogando in breve giro di parole quanto s'è detto, sono queste. L'autorità dell'istoria, la verità della religione, la licenza del fingere, e la grandezza de gli avvenimenti [p. 52].

Trè siano i generi del parlare, l'alto, il mediocre, e l'humile [p. 119].

Dovendo io trattare dell'elocutione, si tratterà per conseguente

SCUDÉRY

encore du style: parce que la premiere, selon Aristote et selon le Tasse, n'estant autre chose que l'assemblage des paroles, etc. [p. 12].

Le Ciel est tout semé d'Etoiles; l'Air et la Mer sont pleins d'Oyseaux et de Poissons; la Terre a des Animaux sauvages et des domestiques; des Ruisseaux, des Fontaines, et des Lacs; des Prez, des Campagnes, des Monts, et des Bois; des Fruits, des Fleurs, des Glaçons, et de la Neige; des Habitations, des Champs cultivez; des Solitudes, des Rochers, et des Precipices; tout cela ne fait qu'un Monde [p. 12].

Le magnifique est donc le propre de l'Epopée: neantmoins le mediocre, et mesme le bas, y peuvent estre employez [p. 13].

De mesme dans un Poëme Epique, on voit des Armées rangées ou campées; des batailles sur la Terre ou sur la Mer; des prises des Villes, des Escarmouches, et des Duels; des descriptions de la faim, de la soif; des Tempestes, et des embrasemens, des seditions, des Enchantemens; des actions cruelles, et des actions genereuses; des evenemens d'amour, tantost heureux, et tantost infortunez; et cependant, au milieu d'une si grande diversité de choses, l'unité ne laisse pas d'estre en la Fable comme au Monde, si elle est faite selon les Regles de l'Art [p. 12].

Mais ce qui s'appelle Matière avant que d'avoir passé par l'artifice

TASSO

delle forme del parlare [p. 103]. Io dico che l'elocutione altro non è, che uno accoppiamento di parole [p. 8].

E' l Cielo si vede sparso, ò distinto di tanta varietà di stelle, e discendendo poi giù di regione in regione, l'aria e 'l mare pieni di ucelli e di pesci, e la terra albergatrice di tanti animali così feroci, come mansueti, nella quale e ruscelli, e fonti, e laghi, e prati, e campagne, e selve, e monti sogliamo rimirare, e qui frutti, e fiori, là ghiacci, e nevi, qui habitationi, e culture, là solitudine, e horrori; con tutto ciò uno è il mondo [p. 77].

La forma sublime, e magnifica, è proprio dell'heroico, e quantunque possa mescolarsi con l'altre [p. 146].

Nel quale quasi in un picciolo mondo qui si leggano ordinanze di esserciti, qui battaglie terrestri, e navali, qui espugnazioni di città, scaramucce, e duelli, qui descrittioni di fame, e di sete, qui tempeste, qui incendii, qui prodigii ... là si veggiano seditioni ... là incanti, là opere di crudeltà, di cortesia, di generosità, là avvenimenti d'amore, hor felici, hor infelici: ma che nondimeno uno sia il poema, che tanta varietà di materie contegna, una la forma, e l'anima sua, e che tutte queste cose sieno di maniera composte, che l'una l'altra riguardi, l'una all'altra corrisponda, l'una dall'altra dependa, sì che una sola parte, ò tolta via, ò mutata di sito il tutto si distrugga [p. 78].

Ma questa prima che sia caduta sotto l'artificio dell'Epico, materia si

SCUDÉRY

Epique, se nomme Forme, après que le Poëte l'a disposée, et qu'il en a construit sa Fable: et c'est pour cela qu'Aristote l'appelle l'ame du Poëme. Or le Tasse ayant comparé cette Matiere à celle que les philosophes appellent Matiere premiere: il me semble que comme en celle-cy, bien que privée de toute Forme, ces Philosophes ne laissent pas d'y considerer la quantité, qui en est inseparable: il me semble, dis-je, que le Poëte doit avant toute chose, considerer cette quantité: afin que son Sujet ne soit pas si ample de luy-mesme, qu'en voulant après former la Fable, il ne puisse l'orner d'Episodes sans la rendre excessive en sa longueur [p. 9].

Je crois que le Sujet du Poëme Heroïque, doit estre plutost veritable qu'inventé: parce que le Poëte Epique, devant sur toutes choses s'attacher au vray-semblable; il ne le seroit point, qu'une action illustre ne fust descrite dans aucun Historien. En effet, les Grandes actions ne peuvent estre inconnuës et celles que l'on croit absolument fausses ne touchent point, et donnent peu de satisfaction [p. 2].

TASSO

chiama, dopo ch'è stata dal poeta disposta, e trattata, e con l'elocutione è vestita, se ne forma la favola, laqual non è più materia, ma è forma, e anima del poema, e tale è da Aristotele giudicata. Ma havendo nel principio di questo discorso assomigliata quella materia, che fu detta nuda aquella, che chiamano i naturali materia prima, giudico che si come nella materia prima, benchè priva d'ogni forma, nondimeno vi si considera da filosofi la quantità, laquale è perpetua, e eterna compagna di lei: così anco il Poeta debba in nostra materia, inanzi ad ogn'altra cosa, la quantità considerare, perchè è necessario, che togliendo egli a trattare alcuna materia, la toglija accompagnata. Avertisca dunque, che la quantità, ch'egli prende, non sia tanta, che volend'egli poi nel formare la testura della favola interserirvi molti Episodij, e adornare, e illustrare le cose, che semplici sono in sua natura, il poema cresca in tanta grandezza, che disconvenol paia e dimisurato [p. 52].

Ma oltre l'authorità si potrebbero adducere molte ragioni, per le quali al Poeta Heroico si conviene fare il suo fondamento nel vero, e prima dovendo l'Epico cercare in molte parti il verisimile, non è verisimile, che un'azione illustre, come sono quelle da lui trattate non sia scritta e passata alla memoria de' posteri con la penna d'alcuno storico, e i grandi e fortunosi avvenimenti non possono esser'incogniti, e ove non siano recati in scrittura, da questo solo argumentano gli huomini la loro falsità, e falsi stimandoli non con-

SCUDÉRY

Mais pour revenir promptement de cette digression necessaire, je dis que j'ay considéré que Lucain et Silius Italicus, pour avoir embrassé trop de choses Historiques, n'ont pu orner leurs ouvrages de la varieté des Episodes, qui est ce qui en fait tout l'agrément: et de là est venu sans doute, cette opinion presque generale entre les gents de Lettres, que l'un et l'autre sont plutost des Historiens que des Poëtes [p. 10].

Il faut donc que l'argument du Poëme Epique soit pris de l'Histoire Chrétienne, mais non pas de l'Histoire Sainte [p. 4].

Que si les Maistres de l'Art nous disent en suite, que le Siecle du Heros Epique, ne doit estre ni si esloigné du nostre, que la mémoire en soit entiere-ment esteinte; ny si proche que l'on n'ose mesler l'invention à la verité; je crois estre demeuré dans cette mediocre distance qu'ils nous prescrivent. Au reste, il est certain que le Poëte doit traiter les choses, non comme elles ont esté, mais comme elles doivent estre: et les changer et rechanger à son gré, sans considerer ny l'Histoire, ny la verité, qui ne sont ny sa Regle, ny sa fin [p. 8].

Mais il ne faut pas oublier, que comme chaque vertu a quelque vice qui luy est proche, et qui luy ressemble; comme par exemple, la liberalité et la prodigalité; la temerité et la valeur; de mesme toute sorte de Style parfait, a pour voisin le defectueux [p. 13].

Une mesme action peut estre merveilleuse et vray-semblable [p. 4].

TASSO

sentono di leggieri alle cose scritte [p. 24].

Che s'egli vorrà pure schivare questa dismisura, e questo eccesso, sarà necessitato lasciare le digressioni, e gli altri ornamenti, che sono necessarij al poema, e quasi rimanersi ne' puri, e semplici termini dell'Historia: il che a Lucano, e a Silio Italico si vede in qualche parte avvenuto, l'uno, e l'altro de' quali troppo ampia, e copiosa materia abbracciò [p. 53].

Dee dunque l'argomento del poema Epico esser derivato da vera historia, e da non falsa religione [p. 38].

In queste medesime historie si può fare un'altra distintione, perchè ò contengono avvenimenti de' nostri tempi, ò de' tempi remotissimi, ò cose non molto moderne, nè molto antiche, l'historia di secolo, ò di nazione lontanissima pare per alcuna ragione soggetto assai conveniente al poema Heroico, peròche essendo quelle cose in guisa sepolte nell'antichità, ch'a pena ne rimane debole, e oscura memoria, può il poeta mutarle, e rimutarle, e narrarle come gli piace [p. 38].

E perchè si come alla fortezza è vicina l'audacia, alla parsimonia l'avaritia, così ancora alle virtù d'elocutioni è sempre vicino alcun vitio [p. 169].

Può esser dunque una medesima attione, e meravigliosa, e verisimile [p. 36].

SCUDÉRY

Le magnifique degenerate aysément en bouffy et en enflé; le mediocre, en foible et en sterile: et le bas, en grossier le trop populaire [p. 13].

Aristote pose pour une des principales Regles de l'Epopée, que l'action qu'elle décrit soit illustre. Or comme l'action Epique doit estre grande, le Heros doit estre grand [p. 8].

Les paroles n'estant aussi que les Images des pensées, etc. [p. 12].

One might continue giving examples of borrowing,¹ but enough citations have been given, I believe, to prove my charge of plagiarism on the part of Scudéry.

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TASSO

Ma noi chiamono i vitij con altro nome, perch'al sublime facciamo vicino, il gonfio, all'ornato, l'affettato, al piano, il basso [p. 172].

La Tragedia e l'Epoiea non siano differenti frà loro nelle cose imitate, imitando l'una e l'altra parimente l'attioni grandi e illustri [p. 40].

Le parole sono imagini de' concetti [p. 121].

RALPH C. WILLIAMS

¹ Cf. Scudéry, p. 12, Tasso, p. 151; Scudéry, p. 13, Tasso, p. 171; Scudéry, p. 4, Tasso, p. 36; Scudéry, p. 10, Tasso, pp. 52 and 85, etc. The edition of Tasso which I have used is without date; that of Scudéry is La Haye, 1685.

LOENOIS AS TRISTAN'S HOME

Miss Schoepperle's book on the sources of the Tristan story constituted a decisive progress. Some people think that an equal progress was accomplished in the question of proper names by M. J. Loth's *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1912. I do not share this opinion. In article VI ("Le Cornwall et le roman de Tristan") M. Loth endeavored to show that Celtic Great Britain, particularly Cornwall, was the home of the Tristan legend. Here naturally he discussed also the meaning and origin of the names that the extant texts give to Tristan's home. It is evident that Tristan's home need not be the home of the Tristan legend, but it is no less clear that the discovery of Tristan's original home would be of importance for the solution of the wider problem of the origin of the Tristan legend. As the explanations given by M. J. Loth do not appear satisfactory to me, I undertake here to discuss this particular subject once more, as far as *Loenois* is concerned.

It must be said that in M. J. Loth's paper there are a number of erroneous statements concerning the names of Tristan's home. *Pour ces formes et sources* this scholar (*Contributions*, p. 88, n. 1) refers the reader to M. Bédier's: he has simply relied on M. Bédier's handy reconstructions of the Thomas version and of the *poème primitif*, which, on account of their unavoidable incompleteness and subjective coloring, are quite insufficient as a basis for research work. He has adopted M. Bédier's statements even when they are erroneous, and has added to them errors of his own.

In the first place M. Loth states (p. 88): *Eilhart d'Oberg* (probablement Beroul) et le Roman en prose font du père de Tristan, Rivalen, un roi de Leonois ou Loenois. In passing, I point out the mistaken idea or expression that Rivalen is the name of Tristan's father not only in Eilhart, but also in the Prose Romance and probably in Berol, while in reality the prose calls the father Meliadus and the Berol fragment has not recorded his name. For our purpose, however, it is important to note that M. Loth's readers are expected to believe

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that *Leonois*, the form given first, is better attested than *Loenois* and is found in Eilhart's and Berol's poems, the earlier texts. As a matter of fact, the very reverse of this is true.

The variant readings in Eilhart are: *Lohenois* (vss. 266, 635), *Lohnois* (vs. 76), *Lonnoys* (vs. 635), *Lochnoys* (vs. 635), *Lochnois* (vs. 5622), *Lachnoys* (vs. 76), (German prose: *Johnois*).¹ For linguistic reasons there can be no doubt that Eilhart's French original had the reading *Loenois*, not *Leonois*. M. Loth's authority and source, i.e., M. Bédier's reconstruction, also gives *Loh(e)nois* as Eilhart's reading (II, 194).

The Berol fragment does not explicitly name Tristan's home; but it is practically certain that when Berol's Tristan twice says he will go to L., he means his home. In verse 2872, which belongs to the portion that the editor, M. Muret, is inclined to attribute to a continuator (p. xxiii), the form of the name is *Loënoi* (rhyming with *toi*), evidently instead of *Loënois*,² while in verse 2310, which belongs to the genuine portion of the Berol fragment, the scribe wrote *Orlenois*, an evident blunder for *Loenois*.³ The editor, indeed, emended *Loonois*; but both the spelling *Loenoi* in verse 2872 and the name *Orlenois* itself speak in favor of *Loenois*. M. Bédier (II, 194) gives as Berol's reading *Loonoi*, which is nowhere attested.

As regards the Prose Tristan, scholars ought to distinguish the Vulgate version from the version represented by MS B.N. 103 and the old prints. The latter version, of which M. Bédier has published *les parties anciennes* (in the second volume of his edition of Thomas), has replaced large portions of the Vulgate by the corresponding parts of a verse romance (no doubt Berol; cf. M. Muret's Introduction, pp. lxxv f.); it may be conveniently referred to as the Prose Berol. M. Bédier, who in *Romania* XV had recognized the difference of the

¹ Ulrich von Zatzikhoven and Wolfram von Eschenbach owe their knowledge of Tristan to Eilhart; the former (vs. 8090) writes *Lohenis* (< *Loheneis* or *Lohenois*), the latter *Lohneis* (73/16).

² The practice of corrupting names to suit the exigencies of rhyme was not uncommon. In *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache u. Litteratur*, XXXIX², 175, I adduced various instances, among them Berol's double forms *Frocin*, *Frocine* (both in rhyme).

³ In Wauchler's *Grail* (Potvin III, 88, vs. 22) and in the Prose Lancelot (II, 68/27) we find *Orlenois* as a variant of *Loenois* (*Leonnnoys* in the prose Perceval of 1530), and in the *Chanson des Saxons* (according to Langlois' Table) *Orliens* as a variant of *Loon-Lion* (=Laon).

two versions, unfortunately gave up this distinction in his larger work, calling the B.N. 103 version simply *Roman en prose* and taking no notice of the Vulgate version.¹ This error passed from M. Bédier's book into that of M. Loth, who apparently knows no prose Tristan other than the extracts published by M. Bédier.

In B.N. 103 Tristan's home seems to be spelled *Loonois*; this I conclude from M. Bédier's remarks on pages 123 n., 194, 326 n. of Volume II (his extracts do not contain the name). However the great majority of the other prose MSS seem to have the form *Leonois*. M. Löseth, indeed, employed this reading in the summary, and he mentions as variants *Loonoys*, *Leonois* (§ 4 n.). Unfortunately he does not say in which passages and in which MSS each of these variants occurs. If they were peculiar to MS B.N. 103 and to the old prints, i.e., to Prose Berol texts, we might be justified in assuming that they were Berol forms, while the archetype of the Vulgate version would have had *Leonois*. But it appears that the old prints usually have the reading *Leonnnoys-Leonnnois* (also *Leonais*?).² Of course the Prose Berol texts, even in their Berol portions, are influenced by the Vulgate, and they may be said to represent Berol only where they differ from the Vulgate. On the other hand, I can point out the reading *Loonois* in a quotation from a Vulgate MS in the British Museum.³ Obviously *Loonois* may be derived as well from *Leonois* as from *Leonois* (retrogressive or progressive assimilation),⁴ and if *Leonois* should prove to be a very rare form in prose MSS, I should say that in these rare cases it is either derived from *Loonois* (dissimilation) or due to the influence of a verse romance. The translations of the Prose Tristan unanimously presuppose the forms *Leoneis* and *Leonois*

¹ In consequence his reconstruction of the *poème primitif* often goes the wrong way, offending against his own rules. According to M. Bédier, a point attested by Eilhart and Prose Tristan alone must go back to the *poème primitif* (I doubt this), while an agreement of Eilhart and Berol alone need not be equally primitive. Now M. Bédier straightway transfers agreements of Eilhart and Prose Berol into his *poème primitif*, treating Prose Berol as if it were the Vulgate Prose Tristan, instead of bringing him, where he differs from the Vulgate, into line with the verse fragment of Berol. Miss Schoepperle has been aware of this error (p. 71, n. 7).

² Cf. e.g., Dunlop, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, 1851, p. 77; E. Schürhoff, *Ueber den Tristan-Roman des Jean Maugin*, Diss. Halle, 1909, p. 19.

³ Löseth, *Le Tristan et le Palamède des manuscrits français du British Museum* (Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter II Christiania, 1905), p. 23.

⁴ Cf. *Lohoraigne*, *Lohorain* by the side of *Loheraigne*, *Loherenc* (in Langlois' Table).

(Italian: *Leonois*, *Leonis*, *Lionis*, *Lionisse*; Spanish: *Leonis*; English: *Lyonas*). The facts enumerated here, though far from being complete, render it very likely that the form used in the archetype of the Prose Tristan was *Leoneis-Leonois*.

Gottfried von Strassburg mentions *Lohnois* as Tristan's home, but only in a passage (vs. 325) where he positively testifies that his authority, Thomas, has another name. M. Bédier, in reproducing this passage (I, 2), changes *Lohnois* into *Loonnois*, arbitrarily, as it seems, and M. Loth (p. 88) quotes M. Bédier, without emending the spelling. It is possible that Gottfried's polemic reproduces Thomas; but it is just as likely (in spite of the plural: *Genuoge jehent*) he is merely contradicting Eilhart whom he knew and even plagiarized: *Lohnois* is one of Eilhart's forms.

In his reconstruction of the *poème primitif* (II, 194), M. Bédier calls Tristan's father *roi de Loonois*, adding as authorities *OTR*. *T*(=Thomas) is a lapsus for *B* (=Berol), as is shown also by M. Bédier's own footnote. Besides, not *Loonois*, but *Leonois* ought to be put down as the original form, since the latter is the form attested by *O* (Eilhart) and part of *R* (=Prose Romance) and postulated by *B* (=Berol), while *Loonois* is only attested by part of *R* (Prose Berol perhaps, but not certainly included). Another remark of M. Bédier's is inaccurate and misleading (II, 123 n.): *Les textes qui présentent la leçon Leonois, Leonnois, placent ce pays en Grande-Bretagne, notamment le roman en prose, où on lit que "le Loonois marchisoit au royaume de Cornoaille"* (cf. also Bédier II, 194 n.) *en Angleterre*. Here M. Bédier quotes as an instance of the reading *Leonois*, *Leonnois* a passage (evidently taken from MS B.N. 103) having the reading *Loonois*; and his *notamment* must give rise to the idea that the reading *Leonois*, *Leonnois* also occurs in other Tristan texts besides the Prose Romance, an idea which is not borne out by facts.

We have seen now that M. Loth in giving *Leonois ou Leonois* (in this order!) as the forms recorded in the Tristan texts makes his readers think that *Leonois* is the better attested reading, while, as a matter of fact, the Prose Tristan (the majority of MSS) is the only Tristan text that uses it, the Prose Tristan of which M. Loth says on another occasion (pp. 110-11): *auquel je n'attache pas grande impor-*

tance au point de vue du roman primitif, même dans ses parties dites anciennes, and in *Rev. Celt.*, XXXV, 382: *au point de vue des sources dépourvu de la moindre valeur.* M. Loth's unnatural partiality for the form *Leonois* in spite of the evidence given by the texts may find its explanation in the etymology he proposes.

After having examined the forms of the name as found in the texts, we pass on to consider the indications given about the situation of the country named *Loenois-Loonois-Leonois*.

M. Loth, with his usual vagueness, says (p. 88): *Loonois ou Ermenie, le pays de Tristan, est situé en Grande-Bretagne, d'après Eilhart d'Oberg et Thomas.* We cannot admit the use of *ou*, but must carefully distinguish between *Loonois* and *Ermenie*. As regards *Ermenie*, which does not concern us here, his assertion is altogether wrong. *Ermenie* is peculiar to the Thomas version, but M. Loth could not find either in the Thomas texts¹ or in his authority, Bédier, that *Ermenie* was thought to be in Great Britain. On the contrary, M. Bédier has given a detailed proof that, according to Thomas, *Ermenie* was a Continental country, bordering on Brittany (I, 255 f.). It looks as if M. Loth, with no direct knowledge of the Thomas texts, made the above assertion in order to support his explanation of the name *Ermenie*.

Thomas certainly does not say anything either explicitly or implicitly about the situation of *Loenois*. If the *Lohnois* passage of Gottfried's *Tristan* is not Gottfried's own, but is to be taken as a rendering of Thomas (which is not sure), the author merely denies in it that the kingdom of Tristan's father is *Loenois*. Therefore, if he says that *Riwalin-Kanelengres* had besides *Parmenie (Ermenie)* still *ein sunderz lant*, and held this one as a fief of the Breton *duc Morgan*, all we can say of the latter country is that it cannot have been *Loenois*. But M. Bédier, who in Volume I (p. 4, n. 1) rightly called the *sunderz lant* *une autre terre qui n'est pas nommée*, misrepresented things in Volume II (p. 194 n.) in asserting that *Tristan's father tient le Loonois en fief, et son suzerain est Morgan, duc de Bretagne*. This erroneous statement passed almost verbatim into M. Loth's article (p. 88).

¹ Gottfried's account is confused, mixing up places in Great Britain with places in Brittany.

Both M. Bédier (II, 194) and M. Loth (p. 88) assert that, according to Eilhart, *Loenois* was in Great Britain; but they do not produce any arguments for this assertion. When Rivalin went from *Lohnois* to *Kornevalis*, nothing is said of a sea-voyage (we miss nothing); but in describing the return journey the sea is mentioned (vs. 95). Tristan also goes on board a ship when leaving Lohnois to visit his uncle in Cornwall (vss. 255, 264 ff.). In the brief account of Tristan's journey from *Karahes* (Brittany) to Lohenois and back (vss. 8556 ff.) no navigation is spoken of. No doubt the positive evidence is more to be relied on than the negative instances.¹ But all we are allowed to conclude from Eilhart's indications is that it is either necessary or more convenient to undertake a sea-voyage to pass from Lohenois to Cornwall or vice versa. This conclusion does not solve the question whether for Eilhart Lohenois was in Great Britain or on the Continent.

The Berol fragment is still more uncertain as regards the situation of *Loenois*. Tristan, wishing to get reconciled to King Marc, tells the hermit Ogrin that he will either stay at the court or leave the country: *Ainz m'en irai ançois un mois En Breitaine ou en *Loenois* (MS *Orlenois*) (vss. 2309 f.); and he repeats this proposal in his interview with King Marc: *O m'en irai ... Loenoi* (vs. 2872). He probably thought of going either to Arthur's court (*en Breitaine*) or to his native country (*Loënois*). It is very likely that *Breitaine* here designates *Logres*, i.e., the English part of Great Britain,² not Brittany, which, in this portion of the romance, does not yet play a rôle.³ But, whatever *Breitaine* meant, *Loënois* may be at any distance whatever from this country. That Berol's *Loenois* is Tristan's home can hardly be doubted, for in no other Tristan text is it or its equivalent mentioned for any other reason. Even in the Prose

¹ Eilhart even omitted mentioning a sea-voyage when he fully described Tristan's journey from Arthur's court to *Karahes* in Brittany (*Tristan reit in siben nachin*; vs. 5488), while in the briefer description of Tristan's journey from *Karahes* to Cornwall the use of ships is mentioned (vs. 6269).

² Concerning the different meanings of *Breitaine* cf. my arguments in *Zeitschrift f. franz. Spr.*, XX, 79 ff. and XLIV, 78 ff. Dr. W. Röttiger, *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung* (Programm Wilhelm Gymnasium, Hamburg, 1897), pp. 2-3, showed that Eilhart, too, uses *Britanja* to designate Arthur's country.

³ The copyist of our Berol fragment who wrote *Orlenois* instead of *Loenois* obviously equated *Breitaine* with Brittany. But his opinion is of no value.

Tristan, where *Leonois* plays an important rôle in the early history preceding Tristan's time for centuries, this rôle is nevertheless merely a preparation for the function of Leonois as Tristan's home. Moreover, the fact that Berol's version has, as its editor says (p. iii), *la plus étroite ressemblance avec la narration d'Eilhart*, practically excludes the a priori possibility that Berol should deviate from Eilhart in such essential features as are the function of Leonois and the home of the hero.

After having wrongly asserted that Thomas makes Rivalen hold Leonois as a fief of the duke Morgan, M. Loth continues: *Le Roman en prose ajoute que le Loonois "marchisoit a la terre de Cornouaille."* It would be an error to think that the Prose Tristan, too, contained the above statement of Thomas and added to it the sentence quoted. In reality, it is only M. Loth who makes this addition. He found the sentence quoted from the Prose Tristan in M. Bédier's notes (II, 123, 194). The latter scholar does not inform us in which part of the romance the sentence is to be found. It is not in his extracts, but obviously corresponds to M. Löseth's § 4: *Leonois* (M. Bédier seems to be quoting MS B.N. 103), *pays voisin de la Cornouaille*. Both M. Bédier and M. Loth, tacitly identifying Cornouaille with Cornwall, used the above remark to prove that according to the Prose Tristan *Loonois* (read rather *Leonois*) is in Great Britain. But the situation is not quite so simple.

The indications of the Prose Romance plainly demonstrate that the author or one of the redactors of this text (which no doubt has been revised repeatedly) considered Cornouaille as a territory in Great Britain. The rôle of St. Augustine, who converted Leonois and Cornouaille (§§ 14, 15), the relations of Cornouaille to Logres (England) (§ 10) and to Ireland (§§ 13, 15, 28), the giants of Cornouaille and Logres (§ 10), and the sea-voyage between Cornouaille and Brittany (§§ 58, 62) are instances that unmistakably point to Great Britain. As Cornwall was regularly called *Cornouaille* in French, the identification of insular Cornouaille with Cornwall seems to be self-evident and unavoidable. It is not so. For, strange as it may appear, in the Vulgate Galaad Grail cycle Cornouaille is a region situated in Scotland (see *infra*). Now, as said above, one of the

Galaad Grail cycles was a source of Pseudo-Helie's Prose Tristan, and the very portion in which so much is told about Cornouaille and Leonois is one of those that show this influence. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that in the Prose Tristan the insular Cornouaille was thought to be anything else but Cornwall, for the giants who first inhabited Cornouaille and Logres (§ 10) evidently descend from Geoffrey's *Historia* (I, 16): *insulae Albion quae a nemine exceptis paucis gygantibus habitabatur; Cornubia: gygantes quorum copia plus ibidem abundabat quam in ulla provinciarum*, etc. Geoffrey's Cornubia where the giants were more numerous than in the other British regions is Cornwall. Also the frequent and intimate relations of Cornouaille with *Gaule* (France) (§§ 7, 13, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24) are only more or less plausible if a southern part of the island is designated by Cornouaille. Tintagel, King Mark's residence, is well known as a place in Cornwall (§ 33, etc.). Finally it seems to me incredible that a later Tristan redactor could deviate from the very strong tradition attested by all the other versions that Cornwall was the scene of most of the events of the story.

Now, knowing that in the Prose Tristan Cornouaille is Cornwall and that Cornouaille and Leonois are constantly represented as neighboring countries (§§ 4, 7, 9), we should imagine that it would be easy to determine which region is meant by Leonois. We might think that the names of towns that are supposed to be in Leonois, *Lu(i)sin* (§ 5) and *Albine* (§§ 8, 20), would facilitate this task. But we are disappointed. We have hardly a chance of succeeding in identifying those names, just as we probably should try in vain to find the town of *Norhout* (§§ 15, 19) and the castle of *Gleved(o)in* (§ 27) in Cornwall (while *Tintagel*, which the Prose Tristan has in common with other Tristan versions, is real).¹ It looks as if the author or redactor, though being, or pretending to be, an Englishman or a Frenchman living in England (since he mentions the archbishop of Canterbury as a sort of patron of his, § 14), also makes use of romantic or imaginary topography. This uncertainty may extend to the situation of Leonois. Anyhow we are unable to find in Great Britain a district meeting the requisites of the case.

¹ *Norhaut-Nohaut-Nohau* is in the Vulgate Galaad Grail cycle a town somewhere in the north of Great Britain (the lady of *Norhaut* is besieged by the king of *Northumberlande*). Cf. Sommer's Index to *The Vulgate Version*.

M. Loth thinks, indeed, that the district of Caerlleon on the Wysc (in South Wales) may be meant by Leonois, since *cette région n'est pas loin du Cornwall* and since *d'après Gottfried, Rivalen traverse la mer pour aller voir Marc* (p. 88). I have already refuted M. Loth's strange view that Thomas treated Leonois as the home of Rivalen and Tristan: it is from Ermenie that Tristan's father goes to Cornwall; and Ermenie was in Thomas a Continental district (cf. *supra*). On the other hand, it is not sufficient that Caerlleon is not distant from Cornwall. The Prose Tristan distinctly indicates that the countries Cornouaille and Leonois are contiguous: the forest in which King Pelyas was hunting (§ 4) was the common boundary and the *chastel de la Roche* (§ 9) was a frontier castle. But the sea (Bristol Channel) separates Caerlleon from Cornwall; Devonshire is the only province that borders on Cornwall. M. Loth evidently foresaw this objection; for he adds (*loc. cit.*): *On peut même dire qu'à l'époque où le pays de Somerset était encore indépendant des Anglo-Saxons, le royaume de Dumnonia comprenant le Devon et le Cornwall était limitrophe du Sud-Galles*. In reality, the common boundary of Dumnonia and South Wales seems to have been even at this early epoch only a very small part of the river Severn where it enters the Bristol Channel (cf. the map in J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 4th ed., London, 1908). Even this very small boundary seems to have been lost since the battle of Deorham, in 577. "This battle," says J. Rhys (*op. cit.*, p. 108), "in which fell three Welsh kings, . . . was followed by the taking by Ceawlin [king of the West Saxons] of the important towns of Bath, Gloucester and Cirencester, whereby the West Welsh, as those of the peninsula south of the Severn Sea came to be called (i.e., those of Cornwall and Devon) were completely severed from their kinsmen" (in Wales). M. Loth indeed seems to be inclined to fix the date of this separation at a later time, the beginning of the seventh century (for linguistic reasons, which however are hardly fit to decide a political question). But even then, can M. Loth seriously think that the Prose Tristan alone, i.e., the latest and most corrupt version, to which he himself gives otherwise so little credit (cf. my quotations *supra*), should have preserved the memory of such an early epoch? And, taking Leonois as meaning the district of Caerlleon on the Usk, how could we explain the emphasized assertion of the Prose Romance

that Leonois as well as Cornouaille was dependent on the kings of France? Surely no fact in history corroborates this assertion, nor was there any apparent reason for inventing it. And was the district of Caerleon (the place itself is at a considerable distance from the frontier of Dumnonia) ever a political unit that might have been called by the Norman French *Leonois* and treated by legend as a kingdom? Caerleon belonged to the province of Morgannwg (Glamorgan), which was a kingdom, and to its subdivision Gwent, which was also a kingdom, and to Gwent Iscoed, one of the two cantrefs (=tribal areas, rendered into Medieval Latin by *pagi*) which composed the kingdom of Gwent. Caerleon was not even the chief place of its cantref or *pagus*, much less of the larger divisions to which it belonged. This refers to the period of about 650 to 850,¹ but did not change essentially until the Norman conquest of Wales. Caerleon was important only in the Roman period (Lloyd, pp. 62, 76); (as a military place: fort of the legion); afterward it acquired only a certain ecclesiastical, but no political importance;² in the twelfth century it was a Norman castle and *seigneurie* (cf. Lloyd pp. 395, 396, 507, etc.). The pseudo-historic Arthurian literature, above all Geoffrey's *Historia*, makes a distinction only between *Demetia-Demeti* and *Venedotia-Venedoti* (cf. *Historia*, IX, 12: *Caduallo Leuirh rex Venedotorum qui nunc Nortqualenses dicuntur; Sater, rex Demetorum id est Suthqualensium*). *Demetia-Dyfed* (French *Susgales*) had various meanings according to the epoch (cf. Lloyd, pp. 38, 260 ff.). "At one time men spoke loosely of the whole land to the north of the Bristol Channel as Demetia"; in later times the name is given only to the southwestern peninsula of Wales (not to Morgannwg). Nowhere in the history of Wales is the name of *Leonois* or anything corresponding (such as *pagus Leonensis*) found, nor may it be expected to have existed as the name of a political unit. If Caerlleon was meant, I should also be surprised to find in the Prose Tristan only the spelling *Leonois* (besides *Loenois*, *Loonois*), never *Lionois* (except in the translations which are themselves responsible

¹ Cf. John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, 2d ed., London, 1912, particularly pp. 273-79 and the map in Vol. II.

² But the archbishopric of Caerleon is an invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth (cf. Lloyd, pp. 147, 486).

for it), while the pretended etymon Caerlleon always was in French *Carlion* (Norman variant *Carliun*, accidental variants *Cuerlion* and *Carloon*, cf. *infra*), just as Old French *leon* (Latin *leonem*) gave way at an early time to the common form *lion*. I may observe that also in the Latin historical documents (they may have been written by Anglo-Norman scribes) no other forms but those with *i* (*Carlion*, *Carliun*, and the like) seem to occur (cf. the footnotes in Lloyd, pp. 478 507, 601, 653). Even in Early Welsh texts the forms with *i(y)* (such as *Kaer Llion*) seem to have been more frequent than those with *e*.¹ Professor Lloyd (p. 76) speaks even of the Welsh name of *Caerllion*, which English tongues have turned into *Caerleon*.² To be sure, French tongues would never have spoken or French pens would never have written anything else but (*Car*)*lioneis(-ois)*, (*Car*)*liuneis(-ois)*, forms that do not seem to occur in the Prose Tristan.

I am not surprised that M. Loth (after having discussed Thomas' Ermenie) refers the reader (p. 90) to two passages that prima facie appear to confirm his explanation of *Leonois* in the Prose Tristan. He could find them together in M. Ferdinand Lot's *Études sur la provenance du cycle arthurien* (in *Romania*, XXV, 16, n. 2), Professor W. Golther's *Bemerkungen zur Sage und Dichtung von Tristan und Isolde* (in *Zeitschrift für französ. Sprache*, XXII, 2), as well as in the same scholar's book *Tristan und Isolde* (Leipzig, 1907, p. 16), and in Bédier, II, 121. One of the passages is in the Berol fragment. Tristan, who, disguised as a leper, came to the gathering at the *Mal Pas*, asks King Marc for charity. The latter wants to know: *Dom es tu, ladres*, and Tristan answers: *De Carloon, filz d'un Galois* (vss. 3761 f.). The other passage is in the Tristan lay *Chievrefoil* by Marie de France,

¹ Cf. J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Index; Gwenogvryn Evans and J. Rhys, *The Book of Llandar*, Oxford, 1893, Index; Strachan, *An introduction to Early Welsh*, Manchester, 1909, pp. 150/7; 160/27; 161/25 (translation of Geoffrey's *Historia*, Robert Williams, *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS*, Vol. I, *Y Seint Greal*, London, 1876, p. 174 (translation of the Perlesvaus). It is curious that the forms *Kaer Llion* and *Kaer Lleon* were used in Early Welsh to distinguish Carleon-on-the-Usk from Chester, which also was a fort or town of the legion(s); cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 2d ed., p. 276 (in a triad that seems to be based on Nennius, § 76) and Strachan, *loc. cit.*, p. 161, in the Welsh Brut, where Geoffrey, *Historia*, IX, 12: *ex Urbe Legionum Dubricius* and *Jugein ex Legecestria* are rendered *Dyfric arche-scop Kaer Llion ar Wyse Owein o Gaer Lleon* (confusion of Leicester and Chester).

² I do not grasp the exact meaning of this remark or doubt if it is appropriate. If Professor Lloyd was thinking of the Modern English pronunciation of *ē*, he is wrong; for the latter does not go back to medieval times.

who says of Tristan: *En sa cuntree en est alez, En Suhtwales u il fu nez* (vss. 15 f.). M. F. Lot remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 16): *Pour Bérout et pour Marie de France, Tristan est un Gallois du Sud, de Carlion*.¹ He does not say how this tradition, which he does not consider as original, arose. He does not pretend that the two writers had taken Leonois in the sense of district of Carleon in South Wales. Not even M. J. Loth makes this assertion, but, since he is inclined to consider South Wales as the original home of Tristan, he seems to prefer to use the two passages as independent evidence proving, together with the Prose Romance, this view. Professor Golther, however, who holds that Tristan's home was in Pictish Scotland, expressly says that *Loonois* or *Leonois* was interpreted as *Caer-Leon* in Wales by Berol and Marie de France.² M. Bédier gives another explanation: *le point de départ de l'invention qui fait de Tristan un Gallois de Carloon, c'est un jeu de mots sur Carloon, Loonois. ... Quelqu'un a donc identifié Carloon avec le Loonois, et qui pouvait faire ce jeu de mots, sinon un Anglo-Normand? Carloon est une forme anglo-normande et n'est pas une forme galloise*.

The Carloon passage belongs to that portion of the fragment which the editor assigns to a continuator of Berol.³ It forms part of the ordeal incident.⁴ Another version of this incident is found in Thomas, but it differs very much and does not contain anything corresponding to the Carloon passage.

We must not forget that the answer Tristan gives to Marc cannot be a straightforward one, the truth of which there is no reason to suspect; for Tristan was in disguise and had the most potent reasons

¹ M. Bédier (*loc cit.*), agreeing with M. Lot's statement, adds: *Et cette invention, dit M. Ferdinand Lot, ne peut être que le fait d'un Gallois; cette idée de revendiquer Tristan pour le pays de Galles n'a pu venir qu'à des Gallois*. I do not see that M. Lot made this illogical assertion.

² Also by the Welsh? He says: *Die Kymren dachten zunächst an Süd-wales*. How could this be possible? If the Tristan saga was imported into Wales from the north by Celtic transmission, which evidently is the natural assumption, the Welsh certainly did not hear of *Leonois* (which is French) nor of any name that might have suggested Caerleon as the name of Tristan's home. And what Welsh texts are there that represent Tristan as a native of South Wales?

³ I must say that I was not convinced by M. Muret's arguments for his postulate of a continuator of Berol; for contradictions exist not only between the two portions he distinguished, but also within each of these. We are in the presence of an unusually corrupt text; but its contradictions are best explained as caused by interpolations and retouchings on the part of scribes (cf. Professor Golther's arguments in favor of a similar view: *Tristan und Isolde*, pp. 103 ff.).

⁴ Cf. Miss Schoepperle, pp. 223 ff., as to its oriental origin.

for concealing his identity from the king. Never could he have ventured to say he was the son of King Rivalin of Loenois, as he probably was in Berol's version (cf. *supra*). M. F. Lot seems to have been aware of this, for he remarks: *Noter que ce qui fait le piquant des répliques de Tristan à Marc dans ses divers déguisements c'est qu'il ne lui répond jamais que la vérité* (Romania, XXV, 16). M. Bédier repeats this (II, 121); but it is wrong nevertheless. Let us have a look at the *Folie*, which is strikingly similar to our ordeal incident (as the editor of Berol observed, p. xxi) and may have been its model since it is far more original in character. In the Berol version (vss. 159 ff.) Tristan says in answer to Marc's questions concerning his name and parentage that he was called Picol, his father was a walrus, his mother a whale, and he had a sister called Bruneheut: as many lies as assertions. But then, after having thus led the king on the wrong scent, he impudently goes on telling a great many very compromising truths, often using very plain language and despising covert allusions; he even ventures to say: *Don ne sanble je bien Tantris?* (vs. 183), while the Oxford version makes him say still more bluntly: *Jo sui Trantris ki tant l'amai* (vs. 317). Now, for outspokenness a fool's disguise was much safer than a leper's. Evidently it was important for the leper still more than for the fool to bewilder Marc above all by the first answer, by the answer to the inquiry concerning his home and extraction. Therefore I think that Tristan's answer that he was *De Carloon, filz d'un Galois*, was meant to be a positive lie,¹ just as the assertion, which, immediately before, he had addressed to King Marc's guest, King Arthur: *Povre est mon pere, n'out ainz terre* (vs. 3721), was an evident lie. After having put King Marc on the wrong track, Tristan could venture to say some truths that could hardly betray him: that he had been three years *fors de gent* (vs. 3763; it is the period which he spent as an outlaw in the *forest de Morois*), that, before he was a leper, he had a *cortoise amie* (3766), that *pour lié* (3767) he has got his illness (i.e., in reality that for her

¹ Similarly in the Prose Tristan the hero, being at the court of the king of Ireland whose brother-in-law he had killed, *dit qu'il est un chevalier de Logres des environs de la cité de Camaaloth* (Löseth, § 29); i.e., he told a lie; a few copyists (or the one of their common source) not seeing the reason for the lie, corrected Tristan's answer, making him say the truth, viz., that he was *un chevalier de Léonois, près d'Albine* (Löseth, p. 21, n. 4, p. 467 n.), Albine being a royal residence in Leonois as Camaaloth is in Logres. The correction yielded nonsense.

sake he had disguised himself as a leper; cf. in the Oxford *Folie*, vss. 315-16:

Reis, fet li fols, mult aim Ysolt:
Pur lu mis quers se pleint e dolt.)

But surely neither M. Lot nor M. Bédier can deny that Tristan is again telling lies, when he impudently affirms:

Dans rois, ses sires ert meseaus;
O lié faisoie mes joiaus:
Cist maus me prist de la comune [vss. 3775 ff.].

Therefore, at least the possibility that Tristan's first answer is an intentional lie cannot be denied; but I think, considering the circumstance here mentioned, it is not only possible, but extremely probable. Would it be natural that a lie would take the particular form we find in our text? Obviously the leper's answer could not be grotesque as the fool's, nor did the author of the ordeal narrative dispose of the poetical fancy that distinguished the author of the *Folie*. The leper's lies are dry prose, but they are the result of reflection. It is evident that a leper and beggar, son of a poor man, as Tristan pretended to be, could not have come from very far to a festival in Cornwall (Iseut's ordeal is here treated as a festival). So his home must have been either in Cornwall or in a place near at hand in one of the neighboring countries. But Cornwall was excluded for another reason; for, since people had come together from all parts of Cornwall (cf. vs. 3273: *Tuit i soient, et povre et riche*), the genuineness of the leper might easily have been suspected, if he had mentioned a place in Cornwall as his home. The neighboring countries were in Arthurian nomenclature (and, in fact, our incident is Arthurian, which, by the way, is also an argument for its unoriginal character) *Gales* and *Logres* (England). Thus, Tristan had practically no other choice but to mention as his home a place in Gales or Logres that was not very far distant from Cornwall. In Gales no place more easily presented itself to one's mind than Carlion in South Wales; nay, a French author hardly knew any other place in this country; but Carlion was known to everybody. While Cornish people were obliged to be present at the ordeal (cf. vss. 3274 ff.), there was no reason to think that many spectators from Gales or Logres would be there, except King Arthur

and his noble knights who could not know every beggar of their country. Therefore Tristan's answer, taken as a lie, is quite natural.

Taken as a truth, it would be unnatural; for it would flatly contradict what Berol must have asserted at the beginning of the romance: that Tristan was the king's son, of Loenis. Even a continuator could not have overlooked such an important feature. Besides, if Tristan spoke the truth, without any necessity (for truthfulness was not a habit of Tristan's; cf. in this very incident vs. 3816: *Oiez du ladre com' il ment!*), he would have been represented as a fool, since he would have aroused Marc's suspicion to no purpose, not even for the sake of a joke.

Thus practically no other interpretation of Tristan's answer is possible, except that it was meant to be a lie. In this case, however, it is of no value for the question as to what was Tristan's real home.

If the author of the ordeal incident chose Carlion as the leper's home for the reasons assumed above, he did not choose it because it was suggested by Loenis, the real home of Tristan in the Berol version. Indeed, I cannot see how two names as different as *Carlion* and *Loenis* should ever have attracted each other or suggested kinship, unless they were already brought into close relations for some other reason. I grant that the forms *Carleon* and *Leonois* or *Carlion* and *Liono* might be thought to have been akin; but such a couple never occurs in a text. At best the forms *Carlion* and *Leonois*, which we find in the Prose Tristan, virtually might attract each other, but actually they did not. Does Professor Golther believe that Marie de France¹ knew the names of Tristan's native country in the form *Liono* or at least *Leonois*, a form which, as we have seen, is corrupt and is peculiar to the Prose Tristan? Does he think that the author made use of an early version of the Prose Tristan or of its verse original, if the latter already knew the alteration of *Loenis* into *Leonois*, which is extremely doubtful? Surely he would stand on very unsafe ground with such assumptions. Now, as regards the Berol fragment, which, in our passage uses the form *Carloon*, it might be said that we need not have recourse to the form *Liono* or

¹ She uses the common form *Karlion* (Yonac) if we may trust the MSS. The editor's explanation in the Index of Names, *das heutige Chester, is wrong; la feste Seint Aaron, Yonac, vll. 473, clearly shows that Carleon on the Usk is meant.*

Leonois, but that *Loenois* or its variant *Loonois* would do. Let us therefore inspect the form *Carloon* more closely! M. J. Loth observes in a footnote (p. 89): *Il faut remarquer qu'on a non seulement Carleon et Carlyon mais aussi Carloon*. The learned Celtic scholar here seems to refer to French texts, since he connects the note with *Loonois*, a French form. But as far as I know, *Carleon* never occurs in French texts, *Carloon* only in the one passage that is here under discussion, while *Carlyon*, only to be found in MSS of the fifteenth century, is merely a graphical variant of the common French form *Carlion*. I am sure that M. Loth cannot produce any instances of French *Carleon* or any others of *Carloon*. Also M. Bédier's statement (quoted above) that *Carloon* is an Anglo-Norman form was made at random. *Carloon* is found only in our passage. Its author, *le continuateur anonyme de Bérout ... était Normand* (i.e., Continental Norman!), says M. Bédier himself (II, 120) in accordance with the editor, M. Muret. The change of *i* into *o* before a stressed *o* is unknown to Anglo-Norman as well as to other French dialects, while an assimilation of *e* to a following stressed *o* (here excluded because *Carleon* was not a French form) is not peculiar to any special dialect. How, then, can *Carloon* be proved to be an Anglo-Norman form? In the Berol fragment the name of the town occurs once more, even within the ordeal incident: the messenger, sent to invite King Arthur to be present at the ordeal, seeks him first at *Cuerlion* (3372). This form, too, is unique. The forms *Cuerlion* and *Carloon* seem to show that the author knew the common French form *Carlion*, since its first element is preserved in the one instance, the second element in the other instance. It is therefore likely that *Carlion* was the form used by the author and that it has been altered by scribes, maybe by one and the same person. In changing *Car* to *Cuer*, the scribe seems to have attempted popular etymology.¹ He had no reason to write *Cuerloon*, since in this case the new *o* would have cancelled that etymological pun. But *Carloon* is also an artificial form and is likely to owe its origin to another play upon words. Can it be a mere

¹ *Cuer de lion* was well known as the surname of the English King Richard I. In one part of Brittany *car* was turned into *ker*, which Frenchmen might have written *quer*, then *cuer*. But surely this explanation would be too complicated and not suitable for a place that was known to be *en Gales*.

hazard that the unique and from a linguistical point of view impossible form *Carloon* is used just in a passage, in which a person, whose native country in the same text was *Loenois* (variant *Loonois*), pretends to be a native of *Carlion*, here called *Carloon*? I agree with M. Bédier that we have here *un jeu de mots*, but, considering what I have said above, I cannot admit that it was *le point de départ qui fait de Tristan un Gallois de Carloon*. I say, on the contrary, that this pun, probably meant to identify *Loenois* with the region of *Carlion*, was made possible only after *Loenois* and *Carlion* were brought together with the same meaning, namely, Tristan's home, and were equated according to the axiom: "Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another." But this equation, though formally correct, is materially erroneous, because one of the premises, namely, that *Carlion* is Tristan's home, is not true and was not meant by the author to be taken as true. Therefore it was not the author that made the pun, that changed *Carlion* into *Carloon*, nor did he find this form anywhere else; the man who made the pun must have been one who misunderstood the author's text, clear though it was,¹ who took a lie as a truth, therefore a copyist.² It was probably the same stupid person who first amused himself by turning *Carlion* into *Cuerlion*, who in one place changed *Loenois* into *Orlenois*, because it was joined to *Bretaigne*, which he (probably wrongly) identified with Brittany, and who may have tampered with the text he misunderstood in a great many other places and may be responsible for most of the corruptions that now bar the understanding of this text. It is quite possible that in the complete Berol text there was to be found besides *Loenois* the later variant *Loonois*; but my explanation holds good also, if *Loenois* was the only form used. M. Bédier seems to think that only an Anglo-Norman was capable of making the *jeu de mots*, because only an Anglo-Norman would know, thanks to Wace and other chroniclers, that *caer* meant "town"; but I think that a Continental man might also have had this knowledge owing both to

¹ It was specially clear when it was complete, because in the beginning there must have been a clear statement that Tristan's home was *Loenois*, so that, when afterward the leper says he was *de Carlion, fils d'un Galois*, everybody recognized that this was a lie.

² Compare the analogous misunderstanding on the part of a copyist in the Prose Romance mentioned above.

Wace and to the numerous Breton place-names beginning with *caer* and *ker*, and that this knowledge was not even necessary since the equation mentioned above could be deduced by one who did not know the meaning of *car*. But we may go farther and assert that an Anglo-Norman would have known the real meaning of *Loenois* (cf. *infra*) and would thereby have been prevented from identifying it with the region of *Carlion* and might have been impelled to discover the cause of his error. So the silly scribe was not an Anglo-Norman; nor are there characteristic features of the Anglo-Norman dialect and versification in our fragment.

Marie's testimony in the *Chievrefoil* may be of greater value than the Carloon passages in the Berol fragment; but it admits of different explanations. The author says in her Introduction:

Plusur le (scil. lai) m'unt cunté e dit
 E ieo l'ai trové en escrit
 De Tristram e de la reine,
 De lur amur qui tant fu fine,
 Dunt il ourent meinte dour;
 Puis en mururent en un jur [vss. 5-10].

She refers here both to an oral and to a written source. The latter evidently was a complete romance, since it seems to have reported the whole story of the lovers until their death. The oral source may have contained a separate account of the *chievrefoil* incident; but the facts proved by Miss Schoepperle in two of the most interesting chapters of her book (pp. 138 ff., 301 ff.), that this incident has parallels in our versions of the Tristan romance, that it has a Celtic source and that Marie's version comes nearest to the latter, seem to show that the incident once formed part of the *poème primitif*. Probably it has been detached from the latter, as was the case with a number of other Tristan episodes; and it happened that the severed form which Marie has transmitted to us has preserved the original features better than our versions of the whole *poème primitif*.¹

Marie seems to have used her written source, the complete romance, merely for the purpose of showing how the incident fitted

¹ The same may be said *mutatis mutandis* of the *Folie Tristan*.

into the story. But I suspect she has assigned to it a wrong place in the sequence of events; at least the place she assigned to it is not the one its equivalents occupy in the extant versions of the romance. She makes the following remark:

Li reis Mars esteit curuciez,
Vers Tristram, sun nevu, iriez;
De sa terre le cuncea
Pur la reine qu'il ama.
En sa cuntree en est alez,
En Suhtwales u il fu nez [vss. 11-16].

The few indications which we find in this lay seem to make it probable that Suhtwales was Tristan's home in the written source and that the latter was the version of Thomas, not the Vulgate. Iseut's maid is called *Brengein* (vs. 90). The original form of this name, preserved by the Vulgate group, had an *a* in the first syllable (exception: Berol), while *e* (turned into *i* in the Norse and partly in the English translation) is characteristic for Thomas and the texts influenced by him (Oxford *Folie*). The unoriginal form *Tristram* (vss. 7, 12, etc.), *Tristram* too, was perhaps originally used only by Thomas, but has been introduced by copyists also into Eilhart-Berol. King Marc's residence is *Tintagel* (vs. 39). The Berol version substituted for it *Lancien*. The facts mentioned hitherto are not conclusive, but I should say that the mild expression *cuncea* (vs. 13) quoted above, could not have stood in a Vulgate version nor in the *poème primitif*, but is characteristic of the alterations Thomas had undertaken. Thomas alone represents the relations between King Marc and the lovers as remaining friendly in spite of all. When King Marc's jealousy was first aroused, he said to his wife, wishing to put her to the test, that during his absence he would send Tristan "into other countries" (Saga, LIII), to "Parmentie" (his native country: Gottfried, vs. 14067; nothing in the English version; cf. Bédier, I, 188). In the fountain episode Tristan, knowing that he was heard by Marc sitting on the tree, says he is determined to leave the country (English version, vs. 2139; confirmed by Eilhart; Bédier, I, 201). The *Tavola Ritonda*, here representing Thomas, makes him say: *io mi voglio ritornare nella Petitta Bretagna*: Bédier,

I, 202 (his home Ermenie was, according to Thomas, in or near Brittany; cf. *supra*). After the flour incident, which in the Vulgate ended with Tristan being made a prisoner and sentenced to death, he was in the Thomas version only *de la curt chascé* (thus in the Oxford *Folie*, vs. 756, missing in the translations of Thomas, cf. Bédier, I, 208, n. 3). Then follows in Thomas (not in the Vulgate) Isolt's ordeal, in which incident Tristan, disguised, took part. Though his and Isolt's "innocence" was proved, Tristan did not return to court. Here the Icelandic text goes on as follows:

En er Tristram . . . var farinn burt af konungs ríki, ok skildu þeir með reidi, konungr ok hann, ok þjónaði Tristram því næst hertuga einum yfir Polisríki (c. LXI).

The English version briefly says (vss. 2293 f.): "Tristrem . . . into Wales he is." Gottfried has the following passage (vss. 15769 ff.):

Tristan, Isolde cumpanjun,
Do er si ze Karliun¹
Haete getragen an daz stat
Und geleistet, des si in bat,
Er fuor des selben males
Von Engellant ze Swales
Ze dem herzogen Gilane.

Surely the country to which he now went, and from which he afterward sent the dog Petitcreu to Iseut, was not *Polisríki* (Poland), but *Gales*. Tristan had left Cornwall, because King Marc had been *curuciez* (=Saga: *með reidi*) and had him *de la court chascé*. I think that if, instead of the allusion in the Oxford *Folie*, we had Thomas' own words or at least their Norse or German or English translation, we should have the milder expression *cungeé* instead of *chascé*, or at least the banishment was such a mild one that it was practically equivalent to giving *congié*. For, when after the *Petitcreu* incident Tristan returned to Marc's court and was again suspected to be guilty of adultery, he, together with Iseut, was banished once more and then the king, according to Gottfried, says to the lovers: He would be justified in having both of them killed, but he did not

¹ In Thomas, Marc being ruler over Great Britain, the ordeal took place at Carlion.

want to do them any harm; since they loved each other more than him,

So weset ouch beide ein ander bi,
 Als iu ze muote gestê!
 Durch mine vorhte lat nimê! ...
 Nemet ein ander an die hant
 Und rumet mir hof unde lant [vss. 16600 ff.].

And in the allusion of the Oxford *Folie* we actually find this time *cunjeiez* as a synonym by the side of *chascez* (vss. 859 ff.; cf. also Bédier, I, 232 f.):

Quant Markes nous ot cunjeiez
 E de la curt nus out chascez,
 As mains ensemble nus prêimes
 E hors de la sale en eissimes.

Surely this *cunjeier* may also be transferred as a synonym to the first banishment, the one that immediately preceded the ordeal; and I should think that this was the place Marie had in mind. Among the Vulgate versions in which Marc is not so magnanimous and in which we do not find nor can expect to find the expression *cuncea*, only Berol (or his continuator) makes the lovers flee to Gales, but not directly from Marc's court. After the lovers had made their escape from the stake (not been banished!) and passed three or four years in the *forest de Moroïs* (here supposed to be in Cornwall), they were discovered by King Marc, but spared. Now, according to Eilhart, they fled to a desert place (evidently in the same forest), near the hermitage of Ugrim (vss. 4683 ff.). In Berol, however, Tristan proposes:

Dame, fuion nos en vers Gales! [vs. 2099]

This they did:

Morrois trespasent, si s'en vont;
 Grans jornees par poor font;
 Droit vers Gales s'en sont alé [vss. 2129 ff.]

Evidently, this situation could not have suited Marie's purpose, since her narrative postulates that only Tristan was banished, while Iseut remained at court. Neither Berol nor Thomas intimate that Gales was Tristan's native country: Gales was evidently chosen by

both authors as a country situated near Cornwall. But in Thomas, in the incidents preceding Tristan's departure for Gales, whenever there was question of Tristan's leaving Cornwall (once in Marc's speech, once in Tristan's), his native country (*Parmenie, la Petite Bretagne*) was thought of as the goal of his journey. Suppose that Thomas' text had twice stated that Tristan was to go to his native country without giving a name and then actually made him go to Gales: might not Marie, if she only glanced over a portion of the text, have thought that Gales was his native country or was identical with Ermenie?¹ Marie gives *Suhtwales*. It may have been an inference of her own, that *Suhtwales*, which was nearest to Cornwall, was that part of Gales to which Tristan retired. Perhaps, however, the strange and obviously corrupt form *Swales*, transmitted by Gottfried, is a contraction of *Suswales* (cf. Wace's *Brut: Suthgalois. Surgalois, Susgales, Surgales*; Sommer's *Index to The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances: Sorgales, Sugales*, English translation *South Wales*).

This is one explanation of Marie's testimony. If Marie had read the Carloon passage of Berol (with the original form Carlion) and overlooked the beginning of the romance, she might, taking the leper's answer as serious, have thought that Tristan was a native of South Wales. She may have read the ordeal incident both in Thomas and Berol;² for both authors connect the Gales passage with the ordeal incident.

These explanations, I think, are possible. But it is also possible that Marie, in declaring South Wales to be Tristan's home, follows a tradition not otherwise represented in the extant texts and that I cannot account for. Anyhow there is not the slightest indication that we are bound to suppose that Marie found Leonois to be Tristan's home and identified it with the district of Carleon in South Wales.

We have seen that the Carloon passage in Berol does not postulate such a supposition either. All that it seems to show—and that is quite a different thing—is, that a copyist, misunderstanding the

¹ Wales is called *Armonia* in a *Vita S. Oswaldi*, cf. M. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagen-geschichte Englands*, I, 180.

² The dates of the texts cannot be fixed, but Marie may have known Thomas and Berol.

text, and putting side by side in his mind two statements he read in his text (that Tristan was a native of Lenois and pretended to be a native of Carlion in Wales), apparently identified Carlion with Lenois, and, to make this comprehensible, altered Carlion into Carloon.

Thus the view that Lenois in the Prose Tristan was meant to be the district of Carlion is not supported by any other instance, and, considering the arguments adduced above, may be dismissed as purely fantastical. I may add that of the scholars who specially drew the attention of their readers to the passages in Berol and Marie, neither M. F. Lot nor Professor Golther explained Lenois in the Prose Tristan as the district of Carleon, while M. Bédier did not discuss the question. M. J. Loth stands alone in taking this view.

Now, as is generally known, there actually was and is a region called *Lenois*, and this region bordered on another region that was and is called *Cornouaille*. The two regions together with part of Tréguier now form the *département de Finistère*, in Brittany. The Breton region *Lenois*, the capital of which is *Saint Pol de Léon*, was in the Middle Ages a political and ecclesiastical unit, a diocese and a viscounty or county. As early as the year 884 we find in the *Vita S. Pauli Aureliani* a life of the patron saint and first bishop of this diocese, written by a Breton monk, that the region was called *pagus Leonensis*,¹ whence French *Lenois*. A certain *Guihomarcus vicecomes Leonensis*² has become the hero of the lay *Guigemar* by Marie de France and is also known in Arthurian romances as *Guioimar*, etc. Marie calls him son of *Eridiaus (Oridiaus)*,³ *sire de Liun* (vs. 30).

In the prose *Melusine* by Jehan d'Arras a baron is mentioned whose name is *Henry de Leon*; he was a Breton, a brother of *Alain de Quemegnigant* (pp. 75, 86). In Türlin's *Crone* (vs. 369) *Liuns* is mentioned as one of King Arthur's dominions, together with *Cor-*

¹ Cf. quotations in Aurélien de Courson, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon*, Paris, 1863, p. clxxvii, or H. Zimmer in *Zeitschrift f. franz. Spr.*, XIII, 79.

² Personages of this name and dignity, mentioned in charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are collected by H. Zimmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

³ Cf. the Breton name *Hetvedoi*, *Hirbidoe*, *Hirdvidoe*, *Hirvidoe*, in A. de Courson, *op. cit.* (Index). Perhaps there was a confusion between this name and the name (*H*)*aer-wiu*; for we find in a chronicle ad a. 1167: *Guihumarus filius Hersei vicecomitis Leonensis*, and ad a. 1168: *mortuus est in Britannia Herveus de Lehun, cui successit Guihomar filius ejus* (Zimmer, p. 9).

noaille, *Tintagûê*, *Jascon* (= Gascogne), *Gisors*, etc. Gerbert in his continuation of the Grail (VI, 207) mentions the bishop of *Saint Pol de Lion*. In the chanson de geste *Aiquin* three barons de Leon (*Coneyn*, *Richardel*, *Guion*) are mentioned (vss. 64-65), in *Girart de Rossillon* one *Bernart de Leonais* (sec. 232, according to Langlois' *Table*), in *Aye d'Avignon* (p. 3) a *Bertren de Lëun*. In the chanson *Aigar et Maurin* (mixture of Provençal and French) *Rainers de Looneis* (vs. 68) or simply *lo Leoneis* (1320) is no doubt a Breton (cf. Brossmer's edition, p. 17).

Quimper-Corentin, the capital of *Cornouaille*, is now and then mentioned in Arthurian literature.¹

The Tristan legend itself has been localized in Cornouaille. It was in a monastery of this province that the above-mentioned *Vita S. Pauli* was composed, in which we find the earliest record of the famous March, *King of Cornwall*. The Midas story, transferred to King Marc in the Berol fragment, is still told in Cornouaille of *le roi (de) Portzmarch* (now Plomarc'h); cf. J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XIII, 485 and especially *Contributions*, pp. 108 ff.; Sébillot, *Folklore de France*, III, 431 f.

Off the coast of Cornouaille is situated the *Isle Tristan*, called *Insula Trestanni* in a charter dated 1368 to be found in the *Cartulaire de Quimper*,² and *Insula Tristani* in a document of 1574 (cf. Peyron's edition of the *Cartulaire*, p. 41).³

¹ In the Prose Lancelot (I, 300, 418; II, 391, III, 131), *Campercorentin* (*Carparentin*, etc.) is one of King Arthur's residences in Great Britain, and *la forest de Campa(r)corenti(n)* (III, 225) seems to have been near it. In a portion of the Prose Tristan which was borrowed from the pseudo-Robert Lancelot and in a redaction of Palamedes *Quempercorentin-Campercorentin* is also a residence of King Arthur's, situated, as it seems, in Great Britain (Löseth, §§ 307, 631a). *Aces de Campercorentin* (variant: *de Biaumont*), one of the knights of the Round Table, mentioned in the Vulgate Merlin-Continuation (e.g., p. 196) may have been a native of this town, which in the Lancelot is thought to be in Great Britain (Scotland). While staying in Logres, King Arthur made the acquaintance of the damsel *Lisanor*, *filie al conte Sevain* (Norse *Sveinn*?), *qui mors estoit, dou castel nes c'en apeloit Canparcorentin* (Vulgate Merlin-Continuation, p. 124); she bore him Lohot. In the *Wigalois*, *Korentin* is the name of a kingdom, also situated in Great Britain. M. F. Lot (*Lancelot*, p. 148, n. 6) may be right in deriving the name of King *Cabarentin*, *Carbarecotin*, *Carpercotin de Cornouaille*, mentioned in the *Lancelot* and the *Mort Artu*, from the name of the capital of Cornouaille.

² In 1892 M. Loth still admitted: *De ces faits, il résulte donc clairement que les traditions bretonnes implantées en Armorique ont eu une part assez importante, plus considérable qu'on ne le suppose, dans la composition des romans arthuriens* (*Rev. Celt.*, XIII, 485). In the *Contributions* (p. 107) he declares that *la part des Bretons, vivant en Armorique is à peu près nulle*.

³ In a recent paper (*Rom.*, XLVI, 38 f.), M. F. Lot tried to prove that the *Isle Tristan* was of no value for the question of the origin of the Tristan legend or romance.

A place called *Penmarch*, situated near the *Baie d'Audierne* (Cornouaille), once an important town and harbor, is mentioned in the Prose Berol (Löseth, § 544a, Bédier, II, 388) as the port where the wounded Tristan, before his death, had the ships watched, hoping that one of them would bring Iseut.

Off the coast of the neighboring province *Leonois* itself, on the islands *Molènes* and *Ouessant*, the tale about the signal of the sail and the fatal error is popular (cf. J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XXXVII, *Contribution XIII: La voile blanche et la voile noire à l'Île Molènes*). The same story was popular in Gaelic Scotland and Ireland; cf. my article "Zum Tristan-Roman" in Herrig's *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. n. Sprachen*, CXXX, 124 ff.

There can be no reasonable doubt that in the Prose Tristan *Cornouaille* and *Leonois* are said to be and are treated as adjacent kingdoms, because they were confounded with the Breton provinces that bore these names. This confusion is generally admitted by scholars. M. F. Lot even goes so far as to say (*Rom.*, XXV, 25): *dans le roman en prose, Tristan et son père règnent sur le pays de Léon en Basse-Bretagne*, and Professor Golther (*Tristan u. Isolde*, p. 16) is equally definite. This is going from one extreme to another. We are justified only in speaking as did M. Muret (*Rom.*, XXVII, 609)

For jusque vers le milieu du XIV^e siècle, elle s'appelait *Insula sancti Tutuarni* ou *Tutuarni*. ... C'est en 1368 qu'apparaît pour la première fois le nom de *Tristan* et c'est seulement au XVI^e siècle qu'il a supplanté définitivement l'antique et méprisé *Tutuarn*. To my mind this argument is illogical. Of course nobody can affirm that the island was called after Tristan previous to 1368; but we are no doubt as little justified in denying this; nor does the document of 1574 prove that the definite supremacy of the name *Insula Tristani* was not earlier than the sixteenth century. If in M. Lot's mind the island had two names from 1368 to the sixteenth century, what should preclude the possibility that it had two names long before 1368? It seems likely that Saint Tutuarn had given his name chiefly to the priory and Tristan to the island (the heading of the paper by Bourde de la Rogerie, to which M. Lot referred, speaks in favor of this view: *Le prieuré de saint Tutuarn ou de l'Île Tristan*; I cannot consult this paper), and that in the Middle Ages the former was chiefly used in ecclesiastical, the latter in secular documents. If M. F. Lot, who no doubt has read M. J. Loth's *Contributions*, had not forgotten the following passage, he could hardly have written his note, in which the *Contributions* are not referred to: *L'Île Trestan ... ne peut avoir une origine savante: on eût eu "Tristan."* C'est en vain qu'on ferait remarquer que le nom le plus anciennement connu est l'île de Saint-Tutuarn. Il arrive fréquemment (il y en a notamment en Cornwall de nombreux exemples) qu'un lieu ait eu deux noms: un nom religieux et un nom laïque. Tutuarn était le nom du prieuré, Trestan, sans doute, le nom de l'île entière. Nulle part la légende de "March" aux oreilles de "march" (cheval) n'est aussi répandue que dans notre Finistère, et particulièrement dans le voisinage de "l'Île Trestan" (p. 108). The fourteenth century was of no account for the development of the Tristan legend or romance, whether in France or in Brittany. Why then should it have been the epoch when Tristan was introduced into the topography of Brittany?

and Dr. W. Röttiger (*op. cit.*, p. 3), of a confusion of British with Continental geography. To this confusion we evidently owe the vicinity of the kingdoms Leonois (Loenois) and Cornouaille in the Prose Tristan, which is not confirmed, nay is even contradicted by the other versions, as well as the close relations of Leonois (Loenois) and Cornouaille to Gaule (France) which are emphasized in the Prose Tristan (*cf. supra*) and are unknown to the other versions. Never were Cornwall or South Wales dependencies of France either in history or in legend;¹ but the provinces of Brittany were often more or less subject to the Frankish kings of the Merovingian dynasty. The marriage of Tristan's father to a daughter of King Hoel of Brittany (§ 22), Tristan's stay at the court of the French King Pharamond (§ 24), Govenal being a native of France (§ 20),² the French saint Denis freeing Cornouaille and Logres from the giants (§ 10): all these traits owe their existence to the confusion of Cornouaille and Loenois in Great Britain with Cornouaille and Leonois in Brittany. No doubt, the original Prose Tristan or its source agreed with the other versions as to the situation of Cornouaille and Loenois (Leonois): then came the confusion with the Breton provinces, probably simultaneous with the introduction of the early history of the two kingdoms (Chelinde-Pelyas-Thamor, etc.).

Curiously enough, this confusion did not blot out the original situation: Cornouaille and Leonois continued to be treated as situated in Great Britain. Such a thing, incomprehensible now, was possible in the Middle Ages and is no more wonderful than Cornouaille being treated as a region of Scotland (in the Vulgate Merlin and probably in the Lancelot), Quimper Corentin as a town in Great Britain (Lancelot and Vulgate Merlin), *la forest de Broceliande* as a region in Scotland (Saint Graal), and a kingdom of *Norhumberlande* in Brittany being assumed to have existed besides *Norhumberlande* in Great Britain (Merlin, *Huth*, II, 143) and the like. The grossest case of this sort is: *Nantes en Bretagne par devers Cornevalle, por ce que ce estoit el pais ou li Sesne conversoient* (in Great Britain!) in the Vulgate Merlin, page 127.

¹ In Arthur's time, on the contrary, the princes of France and Brittany were the vassals of the king of Britain, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

² His name, no doubt originally Celtic, might be considered as French (*governor*) and suggest French descent.

It can hardly be doubted that there was a causal connection between the substitution of *Leonois* for *Loenois* and the geographical confusion just mentioned. The redactor of the Prose Tristan, either not knowing what *Loenois* meant, substituted for it the Breton *Leonois* which he knew, or, having found in the text that he was remodeling the form *Leonois* as a variant of *Loenois*,¹ was induced thereby to think of the Breton province of this name.

M. F. Lot (*Rom.*, XXIV, 25) would find it rash to affirm *que cette transformation de Tristan en Léonard est le fait des Bretons de Léon*, merely for the reason that, *par une fatalité curieuse, le nom du pays (Léon) et celui du souverain (Rivalin) ne peuvent jamais coïncider* (more correctly: *ne coïncident jamais*). There is certainly no reason to speak of a fatality, since the Prose Tristan is the only text in which the kingdom of Tristan's father is called *Leonois*. And there can be hardly any doubt that in the source of this text, which represents the Vulgate redaction, Tristan's father was not yet called Meliadus, but Rivalin. What, however, makes it impossible that it was the Bretons who transformed Tristan *en Léonard*, and impossible too, *que l'introduction de Rivalin dans le cycle de Tristan et Iseut procède de la confusion de Loenois avec le pays de Léon*, is the fact that the Prose Tristan does not directly descend from a Breton source, but from a French source (the French *poème primitif* or a derivative of it), and that in this French source Tristan's father was already called Rivalin, his country, however, not yet *Leonois*, but *Loenois*.

¹ Substitution of a well-known name for a less well-known one of similar aspect was very frequent; cf. instances in *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XXXI, 127, n. 5. But it was also possible that *Loenois* passed into *Leonois* by metathesis of vowels, although I know instances only of the reverse metathesis [eo(i) > o(i)e]: *esplumeoir* > *esplumoer* in Meraugis (cf. A. Tobler in *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, N.F., III, 417), or through the intermediate stage *Loonois*. The French town Laon, once *Laudunum* (cf. *ecclesia Laudunensis*, quoted by H. Zimmer in *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XIII, 106) occurs in the chansons de geste (according to Langlois' Table) in the following forms: *Loon* (this is the regular development of *Laudunum*), *Loün*, *Leon*, *Leün*, *Lion*, *Laon*, and in composition with *mont*: *Loonmont*, *Monloon*, *Monleon*, *Monleün*, *Monlaon*, and the district of Laon, the *Laonnaie*, was called *Loonois*, *Loenois*, *Laonois*, *Launois*. As we find *Leon* instead of *Loon*, there is no doubt that the district could also be called *Leonois*. In two MSS of Wauchier's *Grail* we read: *Dites por l'ame au Loënois* (variant *Lodonois*) *Une paternostre trestuit* (cf. J. L. Weston, *Perceval*, I, 239). What this means, we gather from a later passage preserved in several MSS (of one group): *Cil de Loudon* (var. *Lodun*) *racontera Que ce riche romans dira* (*ibid.*, p. 243). *Cil de Loudon* is no doubt a minstrel (cf. *Puis nous feres le vin doner!*), who was a remanieur of Bledri's Gawain compilation (intermediate between Bledri and Wauchier), not only "the original owner of the MS used by Wauchier," as Miss Weston thinks. He was a native of Loudun near Poitiers (cf. also *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XXXI, 2 155), therefore a *Lodonois*. Then the latter form was confused with *Loenois*.

Therefore it must have been a Frenchman who substituted *Leonois* for *Loenois*, as M. Muret said (*Rom.*, XXVII, 609): *Je ne songe d'ailleurs pas un instant à mettre en doute que la confusion du Loonois* (read rather *Loenois*) *et du Léonnois n'ait dû se produire de bonne heure [?] dans l'esprit des Français du continent.*¹

We know what country was designated by the name *Loenois*; for we find this designation also in historical documents. It was M. F. Lot who first demonstrated that *Loenois* was the normal French (Anglo-Norman) name for the region called in English *Lothian* or *Louthian* (*Rom.*, XXV, 16-17). W. F. Skene said in his edition of the "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots" (Edinburgh, 1867, p. lxxix), that this region was originally included in the general designation *Saxonia* and that the name *Lothian* was not applied to it before 1020. In his later work "Celtic Scotland" (2d ed., Edinburgh, 1886), however, he maintains that in the second of the passages in which Bede mentions the *regio Loidis*, he meant *Lothian* (in the first Leeds), and the chronicler Florence of Worcester (twelfth century) and the chronicler of Melrose still apply to it the name *Provincia Loidis* (I, 241, with note 19, pp. 254 f.). In other historical texts and documents we find forms such as: *Louthian*, *Loudian* and more or less Latinized: *Loudonia*, *Laudonia*, *Laodonia*, *Ladonia*, *Loida*, *Loonia*, *Loina*, *Lenna* (read *Lonna?*), *Lovia* (read *Lonia*) (cf. Skene, *Chronicles*, Index, and Appendix to this paper). The forms, in which the medial dental spirant has been lost, may be due to the influence of French, in which language this change is regular. The English form was *Loden(e)*, *Loben(e)* (cf. the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle),² *Laudyan* (the Carl of Carlisle, earlier version), *Lothaine* (the same text, later version), *Lowthean* (Malory, II, 2, etc.). The normal

¹ But M. Muret is wrong in adding: *Cette confusion explique de la façon la plus naturelle l'attribution du nom de Rivalin au père de Tristan dans le poème qu'a traduit Eilhart vers 1180.* In this poem the name of the country is still *Loenois*! And it is not at all natural that a Frenchman should give the Breton name *Rivalin* to a king of *Loenois*, that he should even have known it as the name of a Breton sovereign. I do not want to enter here into a discussion of the names of persons; I only may say by the way that the fact that the introduction of the name *Rivalin* is independent of and earlier than the change of *Loenois* to *Leonois*, is for me one of the reasons why I postulate that the Cornish stage of the Tristan legend was followed by a Breton stage and that the French *poème primitif*, probably the only source of all our French Tristan materials, is derived from the Breton stage.

² Ad a. 1091: *se cyng Melcolme . . . for mid his fyrde ut of Scottlands into Lodene on Engla land.* Ad a. 1125: Cardinal Johan of Creme, on his return to Rome, was accompanied by several English ecclesiastics; among them was *se b'of Lobene J.* (according to the editor, John Earle, p. 366: John, the first bishop of Glasgow).

French name of the country was no doubt *Loeneis-Loenois*. This is Wace's rendering of Geoffreys *Loudonesia*.¹ In an Anglo-Norman text of the thirteenth century, the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* this name still occurs. King Alexander II of Scotland does homage to the son of the King of France for *la tierre de Loonnois* (quoted by F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXV, 17). This case also shows that the form *Loonnois* is a variant of *Loenois*. *Le Loenois* cannot be derived from *Loudonesia*, but postulates as etymon either Latin *Lo(u)donensis* (scil. *pagus*) or rather English *Loden(e)* or *Lothian*+suffix *-ois* (common in names of districts). *Loenois* was not the only French form. The Anglo-Norman version of the *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, written in 1280, mentions the death of King Culen mac Indolf (cf. Appendix) as having occurred *en Lownes* (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 205). *Lownes* may stand for *Louneis* (< *Loeneis*) or may be merely an attempt at Frenchifying the Latin form *Lounnas* (cf. *Lennas*, *Loinas* in the *Chronicon Elegiacum*). The author of the Arthurian romance *Fergus*, Guillaume le Clerc, who is extremely well versed in the topography of Scotland, which country he must have personally known, and whose romance may therefore exceptionally be admitted among the historical documents, uses forms that have preserved the dental spirant and have not admitted the suffix *-ois*: *Lodian-Lodien*.² Yet in an earlier passage this author has made use of Wace's form which became the common form in Arthurian romances: he mentioned *doi biel vallet de Loenois (:cortois)* (28/26). We cannot be sure whether or not he was aware of the identity of *Loenois* with *Lodian-Lodien*; but I think he must have known both names since he was both a Frenchman and personally acquainted with the country.³

¹ Brut, vs. 9056: *Lot avoit non de Loenois (:cortois)* (=Geoffrey, VIII, 21); vs. 9872: *A Lot ... Randi li rois tot Loenois (:crois)* (=Geoffrey, IX, 9); vs. 10095: *Par Loth le roi de Loenois (:Norois)* (Wace's addition), vs. 10523: *Loth de Loenois i vint* (Geoffrey has here: *Lot rez Norwegiae*, IX, 12).

² 55/10: *Si s'en ira en Lodian (:un an)*. 106/29 ff.: *Tos Lodien est trespassés. En un manoir est ostelés C'on dist le Castiel as Puceles (Castellum Puellarum was the romantic name of Edinburgh; cf. my explanation of it in Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr., XLIV³, 91 ff.; 106/37 ff.): Et vint au port desor la mer, Que jo ai oï apeler De plusieurs le Port la Roins (=Queensferry on the Firth of Forth). Illuegues Lodien defîne, Et Escoche est de l'autre part, La mers ces deus terres depart; 130/3: Et la terre de Lodien Et Roceborc (=Roxburgh) voit tot de plain. The Dutch translator of *Fergus* has omitted all these topographical details.*

³ Geographical double names were not so rare. In Arthurian romances *Engleterre* was used by the side of *Logres*, *Daneborc-Tenebroc* by the side of *Chastel as Puceles* (Edin-

Concerning the district called *Lothian-Loenois* Skene says (*C. S.*, I, 240, 241, n. 19): "In its limited extent it was the district between the Avon and the Lammermoors. . . . This district now consists of the three counties East, Mid, and West Lothians," and in another place (*op. cit.*, I, 131, 237): "in its extended sense comprising the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, and the Lothians." The *Brevis Descriptio regni Scotie*, which mentions Berwick, Edinburgh, Dunbar, and even Stirling as towns in Lothian, obviously uses the name in its wider sense. This territory, occupied in Ptolemy's time by the *Ottadini* or *Votadini*, and the *Dumnonii* or *Damnonii*, was overrun, after the Romans had left the country, by Picts who had crossed the Firth of Forth (cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 237, Rhys, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 153-56, 224). However, since the seventh century the Pictish territory south of the Firth of Forth was for the main part under Anglic rule (cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 236-38, 240, Rhys, *op. cit.*, p. 151), while the western part (Stirling) "seems to have been more closely connected with the British kingdom of Alclyde" (Skene, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 365). At a later period, Lothian was conquered from the Angles by the kings of Scotia (cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 365, 393-94). The neighbors of the Picts of Lothian were in the southeast the Angles, in the southwest the Britons of Cumbria (Strathclyde), in the north beyond the Firth of Forth the Picts of Albania-Scotia. How long the Picts of Lothian retained their Pictish nationality and speech under foreign rule is uncertain. We know only that another Pictish tribe that settled south of the Roman wall, the Picts of Galloway, who were

burgh; (cf. *Zeitschr. f. fra. Spr.*, XLIV³, 91 ff. and add to it *Lai Doon*, vs. 8, etc.), *Cepeto*, Chepstow in South Wales (cf. *Meliador*) by the side of *Estri(n)guel* (cf. *Rigomer* 6593, 14924; the editors of this romance have not identified the names; compare, however, *Longnon*, *Index to Meliador* and *Liber Landavensis s.v. Strugull*; *Bonnin*, *Cartulaire de Lousiers* (Evreux-Paris, 1870): *de Striguil (et de Penbroc)*, I, 94, 104 (charters of the years 1189, 1197), *W. Marecallo comite Estrequilla* (charter of 1197: *ibid.*, p. 109); *Layamon*, III, 105: *Kinard the earle of Strugul (Strogyle)*. In *Gerbert's Grail* we find an Arthurian knight *Jacob d'Estriqueil*. Cf. *Tristan Ménestrel*, ed. Bédier and Weston vss. 671, 937. This text has also in common with *Rigomer* the strange name *Maudamadas de Galoe* (697; *Rigomer*, 15514 f., etc.: *Midomidas filz le roi Lot de Galoe*). *Estrivelyn-Estruvelin* (cf. *Meraugis*) by the side of *Sinandon-Sinandone* (cf. *Meliador*, vs. 14759 ff.: *Signandon si est un chastiaus Dedens Escocce* . . . , *Estruvelin est nommés ores*, and *Longnon*, *Meliador*, I, III ff., and *Zeitschr. f. fra. Spr.*, XXVIII, 47-48; XLIV³, 176), and *Mont Dolerous* may have been a third name of Stirling (cf. *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 47-48; XLIV³, 96 ff.). The forms with and without a medial dental have their parallels in the medieval forms of the name Galloway: Latin *Walweitha*, *Galweidia*, *Galweya*, *Galewey*, etc. (cf. Skene, *Chron.*), French *Galvoie*, *Gavoie*, *Galweide*, *Galvaide* (the latter forms in the romance *Guillaume d'Angleterre*).

also subject to the Angles, spoke the *sermo Pictorum* as late as the twelfth century (Skene, *C.S.*, I, 203). Skene says (*ibid.*, I, 131):

In the northwestern part of this region (Lothian) they (the Picts) appear to have remained till a comparatively late period, extending from the Carron to the Pentland hills, and known by the name of the plain of Manau, or Manann, while the name of *Pentland*, corrupted from *Petland* or *Pictland*,¹ has preserved a record of their occupation.

Previous to their subjection the Picts of Lothian seem to have had kings of their own. But the legendary *Loth* whom the Scotch chroniclers Hector Boethius and Buchanan term *rex Pictorum* (cf. San Marte's edition of Geoffrey's *Historia*, pp. 380-81), probably owes this attribute and his connection with Lothian only to the similarity of the names. However, *Loth* being a Celtic name, it is unlikely that King *Loth* was merely an artificial character, the eponymus of Lothian. But the author of the *Vita S. Kentigerni*, who called this *vir semipaganus rex Leudonus* (cf. Appendix), has either derived this name directly from *Leudonia* or has assimilated the name *Loth* to the latter name. The *eu* might be explained as a graphical corruption of *ou*; but if Lothian was, as J. Rhys maintains in an additional note to his "Studies in the Arthurian legend" (Oxford, 1891, p. 391, referring to a note of Phillimore's in the *Cymmrodor*, XI, 51), called *Lleuduniawn* in Welsh, then *Leudonia* no doubt is based on this Welsh form, and the latter, I should think, is a corruption of Loudonia, owing to the influence of the Welsh name *Llew*, which the Welsh used to substitute for *Loth* (cf. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 11, n. 2). *Loth* being in Geoffrey's *Historia* and the French romances the father of *Walwen* (Gauvain), the latter, who in his turn was connected (on account of the similarity of the names) both with *Wallia* (Wales) and with *Walweitha* (Galloway),² thus became indirectly also a Pict of Lothian. But all these connections seem to be purely artificial and not to rest on genuine popular tradition. There is, on the other hand, no reason to doubt the genuineness of Tristan's connection with Lothian (Loenois).

¹ "Country of the Picts" was in correct Anglo-Saxon *Pehta-land*, which may have yielded *Pet(e)land* in Middle English (*Pehtas* survives in Broad Scotch as *Pechta*, says Rhys *op. cit.*, p. 313). The anorganic *n* is frequent in English. Rhys's opposition to Skene's explanation of Pentland (*op. cit.*, pp. 112, 153, 313) is unjustified. He himself supplied (p. 313) a parallel, the Pentland Firth (separating the Orkneys from the north of Scotland), which is Old Norse *Petlandsfjörðr* = the Firth of the country of the Picts.

² Both connections are united in William of Malmesbury's *De gestis*; cf. quotation in San Marte, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

M. J. Loth mentioned indeed M. F. Lot's equation *Loonois* = *Lothian*, but treated it merely as a hypothesis, to which he considered himself justified in adding his own as its equal, nay as its superior: *Il n'est pas impossible non plus que ce pays ait désigné la région de Caerlleon sur Wysc dont la situation conviendrait mieux.* He never informed his reader that Lothian could be proved to have been called *Loenois*, while it is a pure assumption that the district of Caerlleon was known by the name of *Loenois* or even of *Leonois*. But, being no doubt conscious of the weakness of his arguments, and wishing to eliminate everything that might speak in favor of a Pictish origin of the legend and might annul his Cornish theory, he states (p. 89): *Le nom d'Ermenie me paraît beaucoup plus important que celui de Loonois, lequel est plus connu et prête à confusion à cause de sa ressemblance avec le Léon de Bretagne.*

To my mind *Loenois* is far more important than *Ermenie*: (1) because *Ermenie* is attested only by Thomas, *Loenois*-*Leonois* by the other three versions, Eilhart-Berol-Prose, called together the Vulgate redaction. There is a general agreement among scholars that the Vulgate redaction is far superior to the Thomas redaction as to reliability, and the correctness of this view can easily be ascertained. (2) Because the sense of *Loenois* is clear, while the name *Ermenie* is obscure and may be explained in different ways, none of which carries conviction.

APPENDIX

Instances of the Name Lothian in Medieval Latin Documents

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. reg. Brit.*, VIII, 21 (1138): Lot de Loudonesia (scil. regione) (edition: Londonesia, owing to confusion with London) marries King Arthur's sister Anna. Arthur bestows on him the consulatus Loudonesiae (Lon-). Geoffrey seems to divide Scotland into three parts: Scotia, *Murevia, and Loudonesia (IX, 9).

Simeon of Durham (twelfth century): apud fluvium Twedam qui Northymbriam et Loidam disternat (quotation in Skene, *C.S.*, I, 241, n. 19). Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regno Scottorum (quotation in Skene, *ibid.*, I, 394, n. 17).

Vita S. Kentigerni by an Anonymus (twelfth century): Rex igitur Leudonus (< Loudonus), vir semipaganus, a quo provincia quam regebat Leudonia (< Loudonia) nomen sortita in Britannia septentrionali, filiam habuit novercatam que Thaney vocabatur. She became the mother of

St. Kentigern by illicit cohabitation with Ewen filius Erwegende (in gestis historiarum [i.e., the French romances] vocatur Ewen filius regis Ulien [read Urien]). (A. P. Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 245).

Ailred, *De bello Standardi* (twelfth century): Angliae victor Willelmus Laodoniæ, Calatram, Scotiam usque ad Abernith penetravit (quotation in Skene, *Chron.*, p. lxxxi, n. 1).

Charter of Rolland, son of Uchtred, King of Galloway (twelfth century): usque ad divisas de Laodonia versus Lambermor (today the Lammermoors) (quotation in Skene C.S., I, 241, n. 19).

Laws of the Scottish King William the Lion (twelfth century): Omnes illi qui ultra Forth manserint in Laudonia vel in Galwedra (quotation in Skene, *Chron.*, p. lxxxvii, n.).

Description of Britain by an anonymus of the twelfth century: tota terra que est inter magnum flumen Humbri et Tede flumen et ultra usque ad flumen Forthi magni, scilicet Loonia et Galweya et Albania tota, que modo Scotia vocatur, et Morovia (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 154).

Chronicles of the Picts and Scots (dated 1251): Culen mac Indulf (rex Scotorum) interfectus in Laodana (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 174).

Chronicon Elegiacum (dated 1270): reference to the same event: apud Lennas (var. Loinas, Lovias) (plural as in Modern English the Lothians?) (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 179).

Chronicle of the Picts and Scots (dated 1317): reference to the same event: in Laddonia (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 289).

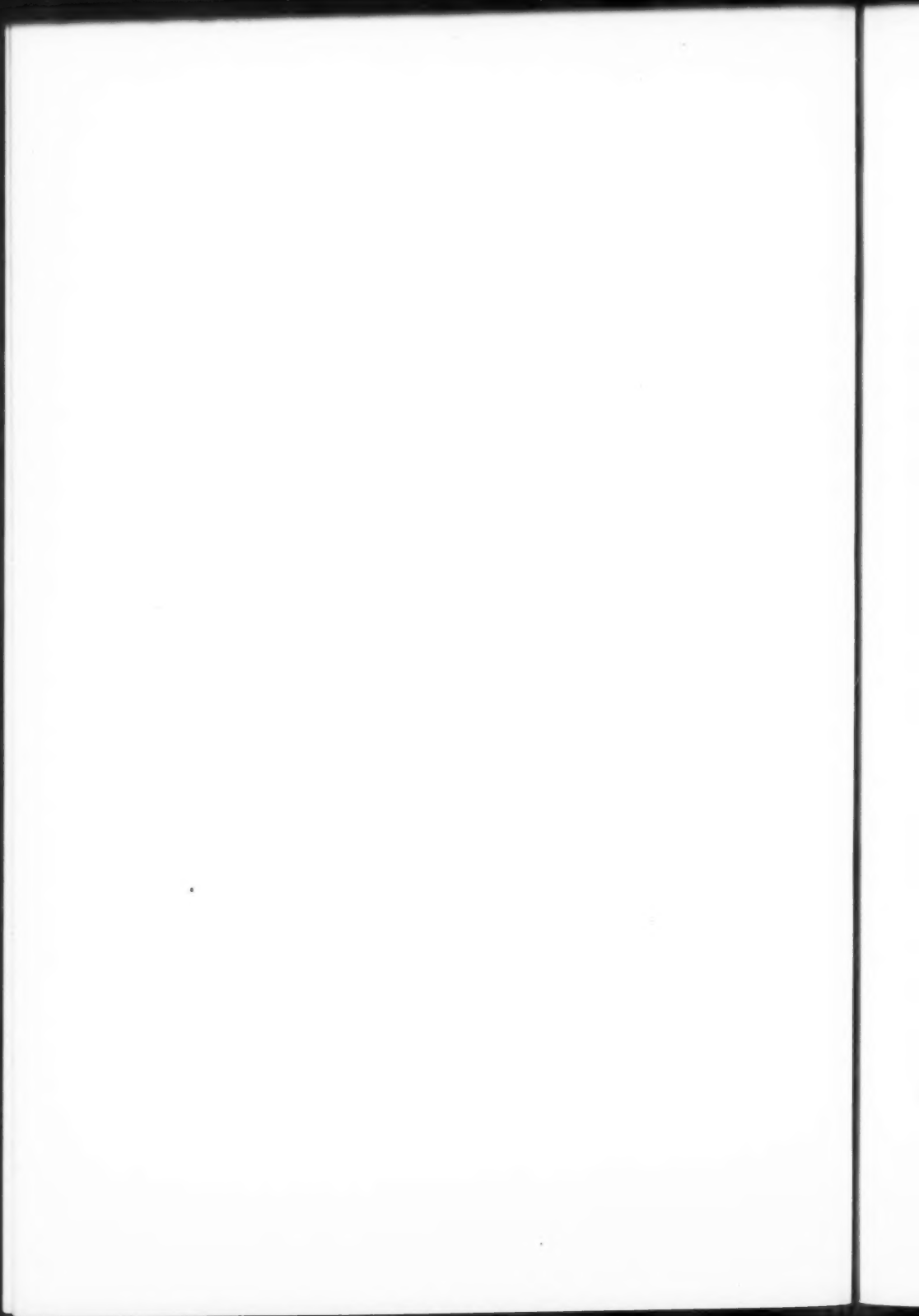
Chronicle of the Scots (dated 1333-34): reference to the same event: in Laodonia.

Brevis descriptio regni Scotie (dated 1292-96): In primis Tyndale (valley of the Tyne, confused with Tweeddale?) continet .XXX. leucas in longitudine et .XX. leucas in latitudine. In Tindale sunt castra subscripta: Rokesborw [Roxburgh], Geddeworthe [Jedburgh, originally Jedworth]. In Louthian sunt castra Berewik [North Berwick], Edeneborw [Edinburgh], Donbar [Dunbar] et Strivelyn [Stirling]. Iste due provincie extendunt se usque Erlesferie et Queneferie (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 214).

Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historia* 1. IX (1527): Thametes or Thames (cf. *supra*, Thaney!) was the daughter of Loth (cf. *supra*, Leudonus!), King of the Picts, qui Pithlandiae novum a se nomen Laudoniae egregiam ob probitatem reliquit ad posteros [quotation in San Marte's edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 381].

E. BRUGGER

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RELATIVISM IN BONALD'S LITERARY DOCTRINE

Brunetière, discussing the formation of the relativistic doctrine in criticism at the beginning of the nineteenth century, names Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand as pioneers, and insists upon the importance of Mme de Staël's *De la Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (1800).¹ He speaks of her as standing out from a multitude of conservative and commonplace critics of the classical tradition—a view Mme de Staël herself shares.² No doubt this is right. Yet it is amazing not to find any mention of Bonald with his well-known proposition, first formulated, although not in those precise terms, in 1796, that "la littérature est l'expression de la société"; there would seem to be here a program no less relativistic than that announced in Mme de Staël's title. The subject demands attention. Bonald is obviously not a critic of the rank of Mme de Staël, and his chief interest is not in letters, but this statement of his is a challenge to anyone investigating the early relativists. We must know definitely whether Bonald is to be counted among the initiators of the doctrine which characterizes the nineteenth century and is represented in its full growth by Taine and Renan.³

The 1796 document referred to is the first of Bonald's published works, the *Théorie du Pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civile, démontrée par le raisonnement et par l'histoire*—an impressive title with no suggestion in it of literary criticism. In the course of his remarks on political power, however, Bonald stops for a moment to propose a history of literature written according to the system which later is to be that of Mme de Staël; he recommends a work

¹ *L'Évolution de la critique depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à nos jours* (7e édition), Sixième Leçon. Paris: Hachette, 1922.

² Cf. her Preface to the second edition (I, 3): "Je voulais montrer le rapport qui existait entre la littérature et les institutions sociales de chaque siècle et de chaque pays; et ce travail n'avait encore été fait dans aucun livre existant."

³ Cf. a recent description of this doctrine in Lasserre, *Renan et Nous*, Paris, Grasset 1923, pp. 189-94. As to Bonald, Moulinié's thesis (University of Toulouse, 1915) mentions his literary criticism only in passing (pp. 254 ff.). The *Congrès Scientifique de France* of 1874 (II, 259-73) contains an inadequate *Etude sur les Doctrines littéraires de M. de Bonald* by l'Abbé Truel.

based upon "le rapprochement de l'état des arts chez les divers peuples avec la nature de leurs institutions."¹ The remainder of the passage, quoted in full, gives in its integrity this first enunciation of Bonald's theory:

L'auteur trouverait peut-être, dans la mollesse des institutions politiques des Etats d'Italie, le motif de l'afféterie qui domine dans leurs arts; dans la dureté militaire des institutions des peuples du Nord, le motif de la rudesse de leurs productions littéraires; dans la constitution mixte de l'Angleterre, la cause de ces inégalités bizarres, de ce mélange d'une nature sublime et d'une nature basse et abjecte qu'on remarque dans ses poètes. Il rejetterait le principe secret de ces imitations exagérées, de cette grandeur gigantesque qu'on aperçoit dans les productions et jusque dans le caractère espagnol, sur la constitution de cette société, où le *pouvoir* royal n'est pas assez limité par les institutions politiques; il n'oublierait pas surtout de remarquer que les arts en France s'éloignaient de la nature noble et perfectionnée, pour descendre à la nature simple, champêtre, enfantine, familière, depuis que la société politique penchait vers la révolution qui devait la ramener à l'état primitif des sociétés naturelles. Ainsi la poésie peignait les jouissances des sens, plutôt que les sentiments du cœur ou l'héroïsme des vertus publiques: elle mettait sur la scène les détails naïfs, bas, quelquefois larmoyants, souvent obscènes, de l'intérieur de la vie privée, plutôt que le tableau des grands événements qui décident du destin des rois et de la fortune des empires, plutôt que la représentation décente et vraie des mœurs nobles et relevées. La peinture exprimait plus volontiers la férocité de Brutus que la magnanimité d'Alexandre. L'architecture avait moins de monuments à élever que de *boudoirs* à embellir; et la même disposition d'esprit qui changeait un jardin, où l'art avait perfectionné la nature en en disposant avec ordre les différentes beautés, en une campagne inculte et agreste sous le nom de *jardin anglais*, devait bientôt remplacer la régularité majestueuse d'une société constituée, par le désordre et le délire des institutions politiques de l'homme.¹

The history of letters proposed would be "un ouvrage de littérature politique" and, as a matter of fact, exceedingly partisan, since Bonald is a militant reactionary. His special pleading diminishes the interest of his literary criticism, and indeed if he always wrote in this tone one would be justified in dismissing him at once. But there are other considerations. And even this passage, lifted from its context, has a certain intrinsic quality of relativism; the description of the shift in point of view in France from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, the sense of an intimate connection between the various

¹ I, 328. References are to the *Œuvres complètes de Bonald*, 3 large volumes in 4to, Paris, Migne, 1859-64.

arts of a period, poetry, painting, architecture, landscape-gardening, and above all the suggestion that the same mentality creates the English garden and the English constitution—these things already bring one close to the nineteenth-century historian's idea that *tout se tient*. We think at once of Taine's view of the affinity between a tragedy of Racine, a funeral oration of Bossuet, a memorandum of Colbert, and a garden of Le Nôtre. Indeed, Bonald at the very end of the passage has, unwittingly, changed his proposition and is for the moment arguing not that the arts in England are the expression of the political system of the country, but that both this constitution and these arts have a common source, are the products in each case of a single "disposition de l'esprit." Taine is going to study England from a not dissimilar point of view.

Whether or not the desire to introduce evidence in support of a political opinion was the original stimulus, Bonald's later developments of the 1796 theory, and in particular of the formula "*la littérature est l'expression de la société*," take him far, on occasion, from any merely political doctrine.

Two articles furnish numerous illustrations: *De l'Influence du Théâtre sur les Mœurs et le Goût* (1805), and *Du Style et de la Littérature* (1806).

Not the influence of the theater upon *mœurs* but the opposite relationship is what concerns him in the first of these; he copies the wording of the Institut National in its announcement of the subject of a prize essay, and then to express what he regards as the true situation he reverses the order and proceeds to examine, from his own point of view, Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire "qui ont chacun ... un caractère particulier relatif aux mœurs dominantes à l'époque à laquelle a paru chacun de ces trois poètes célèbres."¹ In 1796 Bonald was stressing the influence of political institutions; he now writes in terms of *mœurs* and insists, with a much wider application of the deterministic principle, upon "l'effet inévitable de l'empire que les mœurs et les circonstances exercent sur les idées."² He is occasionally vague,³ imprudent. He goes far when he declares that

¹ III, 1037.

² III, 1040.

³ He writes in the sentence of which a part was just quoted that each of these poets has "une physionomie qui leur est propre" (p. 1037), only to add a little later that each one has "un mode particulier, un caractère propre et distinctif qui forme son génie et qui est relatif aux mœurs et à l'esprit général de son temps" (p. 1042).

Polyeucte, le *Cid*, *Andromaque*, *Athalie*, *Zaïre*, and *Mahomet* are less the tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire than the products of their respective periods. But he describes the *milieu* which produced Corneille in a manner which would please the most moderate of modern relativists:

Il se forma, même dans les deux sexes, un esprit national plus occupé de grands intérêts que de petites passions; des caractères plus mâles, moins susceptibles de sentiments tendres que de mouvements exaltés, portant à l'excès les vertus et les vices, grands jusqu'à l'exagération, généreux jusqu'à l'héroïsme, avides de domination, et peu façonnés à l'obéissance. Corneille parut, et ses drames immortels prirent la teinte des mœurs nationales, et embellirent le tableau. Tout, dans les principaux personnages, y porte l'empreinte d'une élévation qui n'est plus à notre mesure. ...¹

This is not unlike Faguet's characterization of the same Cornelian age, "chevaleresque, généreux, idéaliste et très volontiers exalté en toute manière d'exaltation."² Faguet has a vision of the age of Louis XIII, an imaginative understanding of the intricate interplay of politics, religion, philosophy, and letters during the period, so surpassing Bonald's that to insist upon a parallel would be absurd, yet the essential method of Bonald and that of the man who profits by all the progress made in historical criticism in the nineteenth century are the same, and this is no small tribute to Bonald.³

In other parts of this article there is still much sectarian argument; the writer is obviously interested in damaging the reputation of the philosophical and anticlerical Voltaire. But even in this instance the momentum of his relativism carries him much farther than at other times he would have allowed, and we find him once purely relativistic:

Et qu'on prenne garde que je ne prétends pas élever la question de savoir si Voltaire a été plus tragique que Corneille ou que Racine, parce qu'il a été plus véhément et plus passionné. Ses partisans lui en font un mérite, et je ne lui en fais pas ici un reproche; je me contente d'observer qu'il a été autrement tragique que ses devanciers. Un siècle plus tôt, Voltaire eût été peut-être Racine ou plutôt Corneille; mais venu plus tard, il a trouvé d'autres mœurs, et elles lui ont inspiré d'autres pensées, et présenté d'autres tableaux.⁴

¹ III, 1038.

² *En lisant Corneille*, Paris, Hachette, 1913, p. 4.

³ Bonald, referring to "l'écueil de la démocratie," is still partisan, but so for that matter is Faguet, to whom the government of Louis XIII is a despotism.

⁴ III, 1043. Something of the same reluctance to render an absolute verdict is found in the article *Sur les Prix Décennaux* (III, 1183-90).

This is momentary, but complete, detachment from anything absolute.¹ Bonald extends his thesis to other *genres*, with less hesitation about pronouncing absolute judgment. Then he turns to English literature and concerning Shakespeare makes an affirmation which, with due allowance for his hatred of the British constitution, suggests nevertheless, *toute proportion gardée*, Taine's characterization of the great poet's nature "si extrême dans la douleur et dans la joie, d'une allure si brusque, d'une verve si tourmentée et si impétueuse que ce grand siècle seul a pu produire un tel enfant."² Bonald writes:

Les productions informes de ce génie enfant, sont l'expression fidèle de cette société ... sauvage encore dans ses mœurs, bizarre dans ses lois, livrée au trouble par la nature même de sa constitution, et dont toutes les époques, et particulièrement celle où a vécu Shakespeare, ont été marquées par des scènes atroces et sanglantes.³

In subsequent observations concerning the eighteenth century and its expression of the *Zeitgeist*, Bonald reveals a keen sense of the fusion of the *belles-lettres* and the philosophy of the period. All told, we find here a considerable advance in the direction of pure relativism, independent of political argument.

The second article mentioned, *Du Style et de la Littérature*, begins with the well-known formula: "*Le style est l'homme même*, a dit Buffon, et l'on a dit après lui: *La littérature est l'expression de la société*."⁴ Bonald accepts with entire approval, and with equally entire misunderstanding, Buffon's statement (which he likes to quote), introducing a physiological element which, although contrary to Buffon, again anticipates the nineteenth century; he cites examples, Corneille, La Fontaine, and Rousseau; and then proceeds to develop his application of the principle to society. The fact that here, in support of this extension of Buffon's principle, Bonald

¹ Bonald's article on Voltaire (III, 1015 ff.) is marked by no such detachment.

² *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise*, Livre II, chap. iv, first paragraph.

³ III, 1045. Cf. III, 1275. Cf. Mme de Staël, *Littérature*, I, 335, where she speaks of the "souvenirs grossiers et féroces" of his environment to be found in Shakespeare. But she does not insist, and in general there is no comparison between her treatment of Shakespeare and Bonald's. She is incomparably more expert.

⁴ III, 975. Bonald had already used his formula as early as 1802 (in the article *Du Mérite de la Littérature ancienne et moderne*, III, 967, undated, but no later than 1802 since a note, p. 975, reads: "L'auteur veut parler du *Génie du Christianisme* ... qui allait paraître"). And even in 1796 he says very nearly the same thing with equal terseness: "les arts se développent à mesure que la société se perfectionne" (I, 558).

quotes at length his own earlier statement, that of 1796, establishes a continuity in his thinking and confirms the belief that he had conceived the essential idea four years before the publication of Mme de Staël's *Littérature*. In the examples which Bonald now draws from French letters he is again thoroughly partisan; his system is for the moment as rigid and as symmetrical as that of the most determined conservative, and one comprehends the esteem in which Bonald is held today by the members of the *Action Française* group.¹ Yet his thesis has consequences which lead Bonald himself far from this doctrine, as is seen in this same article at points where the author, discussing foreign literatures, writes with detachment. Each of the nations of Europe "a cultivé avec plus de succès le genre de littérature qui a le plus d'analogie avec sa constitution et avec ses mœurs."² So Switzerland has the most perfect pastorals; so England with its highly developed organization of family life has excelled in the novel, which for Bonald is essentially domestic. Of Spain he writes in a manner purely historical:

Qu'on se représente ... deux peuples aussi opposés de génie, de mœurs, de lois, de religion et d'intérêts, que les Espagnols et les Maures, des Chrétiens et des musulmans, établis pendant sept à huit siècles sur le même territoire, sans communication avec d'autres peuples, toujours en guerre sans se détruire, ou en paix sans se confondre; et que l'on juge tout ce qu'un état de société, sans exemple dans l'histoire, a dû produire de sentiments et d'aventures guerrières ou même galantes, chez des hommes, les uns autant que les autres, braves et passionnés, qui ne posaient les armes que pour se livrer aux plaisirs, et chez qui les rapports inévitables des deux sexes avaient à combattre tous les obstacles que peuvent opposer la différence de religion et de mœurs, et une inimitié de part et d'autre domestique. Exercés par cette lutte longue et terrible, les Espagnols ne se délivrent de ces hôtes dangereux que pour dominer l'ancien monde, et voler à la conquête du nouveau; et ils étonnent l'univers par les entreprises fabuleuses de leur Cortez et de leur Pizarre, et par la puissance prodigieuse de leur Charles-Quint. Les mœurs retinrent donc en Espagne l'empreinte des événements, et la littérature celle des mœurs. Jetés hors de toutes les limites, par une exaltation de tant de siècles, de tous les sentiments de guerre, de religion et de galanterie, ces trois mobiles qui influent si puissamment sur l'esprit et le caractère des peuples, riche d'un instrument plein, sonore, abondant, la littérature espagnole

¹ Cf. III, 1003: "l'ordre, cette première source de toutes les beautés, même littéraires." Cf., even, Bonald's view of a fixed language, III, 1198, with the recent book of André Thérive, *Le Français Langue Morte*, 1923.

² III, 999.

confondit tous les genres, porta le noble dans le familier, le familier dans le noble; s'éleva dans le grand jusqu'au gigantesque, et descendit du tragique jusqu'au bouffon; mêla dans l'épopée des scènes de volupté aux récits de combats; fertiles en romans chevaleresques, en stances amoureuses, en comédies héroïques, en drames d'intrigue, à coups d'épée, à déguisements et à *imbroglio*. C'est là du moins le caractère de l'ancienne littérature espagnole, celle qui a jeté un si grand éclat, et qui a donné le *Cid* à la France, et *Don Quichotte* à l'Europe.¹

Here is a passage which, as regards essential method, leaving out considerations of style and of judgment, might have been written by Taine. Once more the momentum of the principle carries Bonald far, and in particular far from his original partisanship. The article closes with a significant attack upon absolute literary judgments, a propos of the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns, an issue to which we presently return. In a survey of ancient and modern eloquence the writer finds

une nouvelle preuve ... du rapport de la littérature à la société; et peut-être aurait-elle abrégé la longue dispute entre les anciens et les modernes, sur le mérite respectif de leurs compositions oratoires, en faisant voir qu'on a souvent rapproché les uns des autres des objets qui ne sont pas identiques et qui, pour cette raison, ne peuvent être comparés entre eux d'une manière absolue.²

In fine, the 1805 and the 1806 articles are an advance; Bonald maintains that literature is the expression of society, not merely as a part of his political system, but also as a genuinely unbiased relativistic argument, and occasionally his method approaches that of the modern literary historian.

The frequent cases where he returns to his thesis in support of his private creed, although the degree of partisanship varies, call for no comment.³ On the other hand, we notice a bold enunciation of the doctrine in its integrity in a work published in 1818. Once more the author starts with Buffon's remark on style:

De même que chaque écrivain a son style, expression particulière de sa manière de penser et de sentir ... ce style qui est *l'homme* même, selon Buffon, parce que ses nuances sont le résultat de la constitution morale, de l'organisation physique, et de toutes les circonstances d'éducation et de

¹ III, 1001-2. Cf. III, 1406, where Bonald insists upon the national character of *Don Quixote* and of *Robinson Crusoe*.

² III, 1016.

³ I, 1152-53; III, 829, 844-46, 933-34, 1174, etc.

position, qui les ont modifiées,¹ ainsi chaque nation a sa littérature qui est aussi son style, et même on peut dire sa langue, dans laquelle on peut apercevoir l'empreinte de sa constitution politique et surtout religieuse, de sa situation physique, et de l'influence des divers événements de sa vie sociale.²

Here is intimate fusion of numerous influences. Man's independence of his circumstances Bonald is inclined, when in a deterministic mood, to minimize;³ and in particular we find him denying the ability of a given individual to react from his original environment, and stressing the influence of family and of the conditions of adolescence in a way that, as regards method, if not as regards artistic power, suggests the great doctor of relativity, Sainte-Beuve. Witness this observation a propos of Mme de Staël's *Considérations sur la Révolution française*:

Tous les petits préjugés de patrie, de famille, de religion, de profession, de gouvernement, de bel esprit, se retrouvent dans cet écrit. On s'étonne que l'éducation littéraire, la grande fortune, les voyages, la vie indépendante, les habitudes du grand monde, le séjour dans les grands Etats et les grandes villes, l'étendue d'esprit et de connaissances de Mme de Staël, aient si peu changé aux premières impressions de Mlle Necker. Pas plus que J.-J. Rousseau, elle n'est point sortie de Genève, et n'a pas pu même se défaire des petites vanités républicaines. "Ah!" dit-elle, "quelle énivrante jouissance que celle de la popularité!" C'était un goût de famille; et il égare l'écrivain comme il a abusé le ministre.⁴

The minister himself is characterized elsewhere with the aid of the same method:

Necker ... banquier protestant et Genevois, et, à ce double titre, imbu de cette politique rétrécie qui veut régler un royaume sur le système d'une petite démocratie, et les finances d'un grand Etat comme les registres d'une

¹ Buffon of course did not mean this. Cf. the *examen critique* of Hatzfeld's edition of the *Discours sur le Style*, Paris, Lecoffre, 1872, especially, p. XII: "L'homme dont il parle est l'être abstrait de la philosophie de Descartes, l'être qui pense, et que la raison peut concevoir en faisant abstraction de son corps, de ses sens, de son tempérament, de ses mœurs, de ses passions, de son caractère, l'être qui existe parce qu'il pense et qui n'existe que par là." A recent critic in the *Literary Review* (March 31, 1923, p. 563) observes that Taine must have realized the deterministic value of Buffon's proposition. If so it is because Taine read into it his own relativism. For the moment the point of interest is that Bonald likewise gives the remark a relativistic interpretation.

² III, 245-46. For an account of Bonald's theory of language, which is in some respects parallel to his doctrine of literary criticism, cf. Mouliné's thesis.

³ Cf. III, 1109: "Il faudrait ... demander pourquoi certains siècles paraissent privilégiés pour produire ces modèles de beau idéal; mais cette question faite si souvent, et qu'on n'a jamais complètement résolue, demanderait une discussion particulière. En général, on peut assurer que cet accident remarquable de la société dépend bien plus de la disposition des choses que des dispositions de l'homme." Cf. also, III, 1110.

⁴ II, 596.

maison de banque; qui s'irrite contre toute distinction autre que celle de la fortune, et ne voit dans le dépositaire du pouvoir monarchique que le président d'une assemblée délibérante ou le chef d'une association commerciale, révocable au gré des actionnaires.¹

That is to say, Necker is very completely a product of his circumstances. In the insistence upon the formula, *Necker, banquier protestant et Génevois*—discounting as we may fairly do the personal animosity in this case—we anticipate the extravagant *faculté matresse* system of Taine.²

Bonald then often uses a relativistic method, with varying degrees of detachment. What is the essential quality of this relativism which we sometimes succeed in isolating? Obviously it is not in the chemical sense pure; it is always blended with absolutism. What are the proportions?

The answer begins to appear, and we approach the center of Bonald's doctrine, in the following pronouncement:

Les idées du beau moral dans les arts sont universelles, parce que leur type est dans la raison générale du genre humain; celles du beau physique sont locales et conformes au modèle que l'artiste a sous les yeux.³

This distinction, with the insistence upon the local which marks Bonald and reminds one of the proposition of another pioneer relativist, Condillac, to the effect that "la philosophie est de toutes les nations; mais la poésie est toujours strictement nationale"⁴—this distinction is the basis of Bonald's literary judgments. He has not a carefully formulated aesthetic; many of his remarks on the subject are merely casual; and his terminology is far from exact, *moral* and *universel*, *physique* and *local*, and various other sets of words are used without especial discrimination. But he evidently has in mind two sets of qualities separated by a sufficiently sharp line of demarcation, and these fit into the system of dualities which in general characterizes Bonald's thinking. Compare his distinction between *hommes à conceptions*, men capable of general ideas, and *hommes à imagination*,

¹ III, 891.

² For other, not important, cases of determinism in individuals, cf. I, 790 (Louis XIV) and III, 602 (Mahomet). Cf. also III, 835, note, where Bonald, somewhat petulantly, objects to a certain kind of literary gossip, as if foreseeing this abuse of the deterministic method.

³ III, 225-26.

⁴ Cf. Lanson, "Les Idées littéraires de Condillac," *Revue de Synthèse historique*, XXI, 267-79. The wording of Condillac's theory is that of Professor Lanson.

imagination being explained as "la faculté qui *image* ou *imagine*, et ... l'on ne peut imaginer que des choses solides, des corps, des sens, des organes, et de là vient que l'imagination domine chez les artistes occupés de l'imitation des choses physiques,"¹ a distinction expressed more succinctly in the verbs *idéal* and *imaginer*.² For him the separation is often complete; he does not seem to conceive of the possibility of amalgamation, a point well illustrated by his insistence upon the difference between hieroglyphic and phonetic writing, the first a matter of physical images, the second, with all its ingenious complexity, purely intellectual; and this he argued at a time when Champollion was about to demonstrate the transition.³ He seems far removed here from the conception of evolution which is so intimately attached to relativism. But this is not always so. Even in the matter of the evolution of language, upon which he sometimes speaks so categorically, he proves to have something in common with Renan.⁴ And in his literary criticism, based upon these not always clean-cut distinctions, he is closer to the essential manner of the nineteenth century than he knows.

The immediate application of the pronouncement above quoted is simple. A painter who sees only thick lips and prominent cheekbones will find his standard of physical beauty in these local characteristics, whereas in giving to his warriors an expression of courage, to his women a look of modesty, he is dealing in qualities universally recognized. A preceding example, wherein the rhythm of poetry is treated as a universal, and intellectual, quality, is more complex and would now seem entirely unacceptable.

An application more important for present purposes is found in the article on the ancients and moderns, and this brings us back to the thesis that literature is the expression of society and shows that the proposition just quoted is vital here. Society may be measured by an absolute, that is to say, a moral, standard; Bonald is as sure of this as he is of the conclusion that society has advanced from a less perfect to a more perfect state, specifically to Christian and monarchic France. But an absolute appraisal of ancient and modern literatures,

¹ I, 1080.

² Cf. Mouligné, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242. Cf. also Bonald, III, 420: "les langues seront regardées comme les archives du genre humain."

as if here, too, there were a universal standard, is futile.¹ We must remember that literature is partly local, secondary, and determined. Only with this mind may we attempt certain comparisons; then we shall find that although Homer may represent an imperfect society—and reason tells us that he does—he is, even so, relatively perfect² and, since the same conditions will not be reproduced, unique.³ Relatively, on account of local considerations, the real classics for a Frenchman may be the products of his own seventeenth century:

Les ouvrages que vit éclore le siècle de Louis XIV ... ouvrages aussi classiques, et pour nous plus classiques peut-être que ceux des anciens, parce qu'ils sont écrits dans notre langue et avec nos pensées. ...⁴

Here the local conditions are far more for Bonald than merely physical.

In general, Bonald's attempt at a double standard of beauty shows that he felt the need of receding from an intransigent absolutism.

He retreats slowly, and in good order. He is still tenacious of a belief in the presence of a permanent, abiding element, by definition *moral*, in the best literature. We become aware of this element, he says, as soon as we attain the proper perspective:

Si nous considérons une nation toute entière et avec toutes ses générations comme un seul corps toujours le même et subsistant sans interruption, nous verrons dans les grands écrivains qu'elle a produits ... les contemporains de tous ses âges, les instituteurs de toutes ses générations et nous regarderons leurs ouvrages comme le patrimoine héréditaire, inaliénable de la société et, en quelque sorte, comme le fonds et les *immeubles* de sa fortune littéraire. ... Je sais que les curieux et les désœuvrés veulent toujours du nouveau, *n'en fait-il plus au monde*: mais ils en auront toujours assez. L'intérêt et la vanité soutiendront sans jamais se lasser, ce commerce journalier d'ouvrages plus ou moins ingénieux, qu'on peut regarder comme le *courant* de la littérature, et qui en sont, pour continuer ma comparaison, comme le *meublier* qui change avec la mode, périt et se renouvelle sans cesse. Pour les hommes instruits, les véritables amateurs des lettres, ceux dont les jugements forment à la longue l'opinion publique sur les ouvrages et sur les auteurs, les modèles suffisent, et même lorsqu'ils les savent par cœur, ils les relisent encore, sûrs d'y découvrir de nouvelles beautés, et d'y puiser une connaissance plus approfondie des ressources de l'art et des secrets de la nature.⁵

¹ III, 968-69. Cf. III, 837: "c'est se jeter dans une question vaine et insoluble."

² III, 994: "Homère est parfait, même lorsqu'il représente une société imparfaite."

³ III, 246: "Nous avons des Homères, des Virgiles, des Cicérons, des Tacites modernes, et qui valent, si l'on veut, les anciens; mais nous n'avons proprement, ni ne pouvons avoir, dans nos langues, l'Homère, le Virgile, le Tacite des Grecs ou des Latins."

⁴ III, 932.

⁵ III, 1108-9.

Yet this classicism of Bonald, if classicism be the proper word, is close to that of a great relativist, Sainte-Beuve, as indicated in the latter's *Qu'est-ce qu'un Classique?*; it is even possible to affirm that for the moment Bonald is the more relativistic of the two, since he writes of a given nation as unique, and of its most representative writers as *contemporains de tous ses âges*, whereas Sainte-Beuve speaks in terms of universals and his classics are *contemporains de tous les âges*.¹ The difference depending upon the possessive pronoun might be enormous had Bonald meant to insist upon it—which we have no hesitation in saying he did not. But it is interesting to note this element in his classicism.

And even in such cases Bonald emphasizes the local. He does not argue that the great writers of a country endure merely because they have realized in such large measure *le beau moral absolu*.² We follow Bonald better here if we remember that he holds to a kind of evolution in the realization of *les vérités morales*. No doubt there is Truth conditioned by neither time nor space, but from the point of view of man this is at the outset only potential. Of the metaphysical quality of this argument the philosophers may decide; the present point is that Bonald believes the men of letters of a country, already conditioned physically and no doubt otherwise, may little by little approach a perfect realization of the *beauté morale* possible in a given society.³ The process is not unlike the organizing empiricism of Sainte-Beuve.⁴ Once a relative maximum of beauty has been attained (as to who shall decide this Bonald does not tell us here), we reach a stage that may be called classic:

Une fois qu'un peuple a trouvé ce qu'il cherchait, les ouvrages qui lui présentent une image de cet original intellectuel, aussi parfaite qu'il est

¹ *Causeries du Lundi*, III, 42.

² For there is also *le beau moral relatif*. Cf. his *Réflexions philosophiques sur le beau moral* (III, 511 ff.), an article of capital importance for the student of Bonald's general criticism of the arts but without any especial significance as regards the theory of literature as a product.

³ Cf. III, 1168: "Si l'on objectait que les idées du beau moral ne sont pas les mêmes chez tous les peuples, je ferais observer qu'elles ne sont pas différentes mais seulement inégalement développées."

⁴ III, 1169. In this passage Bonald is again incoherent as to the degree to which a genius may dominate his circumstances.

donné à l'homme de l'atteindre ou de la juger, épuisent en quelque sorte son admiration,¹ et lui servent de modèles sur lesquels il juge toutes les productions du même genre. ...²

These models may hardly be surpassed,³ so perfectly are they adapted to their circumstances, not only as regards *la beauté physique*, but as to the degree of *beauté morale* of which a given society is capable.⁴ In this manner, apparently, is Corneille, like Homer, relatively perfect. The conclusion of the 1805 article confirms this interpretation of Bonald: taste is related to *mœurs*, and as in the seventeenth century France *mœurs* had reached a point of relative perfection, so had taste and so, among other arts, had drama.⁵

Bonald not only tempers thus even his most absolute mood but there are moments when he becomes superlatively relativistic. In speaking, for example, of "les rapports généraux et secrets qui existent entre l'état de la société et celui de la littérature dramatique" he insists that

Ces rapports maîtrisent le poète; ils maîtrisent le spectateur; et il faut pour s'en défendre ... une grande force d'esprit et de talent, une grande fermeté de principes, et une connaissance approfondie de ce qui est essentiellement beau et bon, dans tous les lieux, dans tous les temps et malgré toutes les révolutions. Mais il en résulte cette vérité, qui doit rendre le vrai talent plus modeste et la critique plus indulgente: c'est que les beautés dans les productions des arts appartiennent, plus qu'on ne pense, à la société; et que les erreurs sont plus souvent la faute du siècle que celle de l'homme.⁶

For 1807 this is highly relativistic, and it is to this principle that Bonald occasionally and momentarily declares his unqualified adherence. In his book on *Divorce*, of which the date is 1801, we find a formula as bold as any of Taine's: "un livre suffit pour peindre un siècle."⁷ And in a private letter of considerably later date,

¹ Cf. III, 1109: "La nature n'est pas épuisée, mais l'idée du beau est remplie; et les besoins de la société sont satisfaits, parce qu'elle ne demande du nouveau que pour avoir le bon."

² III, 1107.

³ Bonald recommends models, but not rules; cf. II, 297.

⁴ Cf. III, 831. Here Bonald, shifting terms again, speaks not of the physical but of the finite. The style of Racine, he is arguing, is unsurpassable; style is finite in each language, the human spirit can achieve the perfection of a finite object, and Racine has done so. Morally Racine may be improved upon; like his contemporaries he perhaps drew too much upon pagan subjects.

⁵ III, 1048-50.

⁶ III, 880.

⁷ II, 29.

1824, in which he refers once more (note his tenacity) to his thesis that literature is the expression of society he writes:

Aussi à voir la littérature d'un peuple, dont on ne connaîtrait pas l'histoire, on pourrait dire ce qu'il a été, et à lire l'histoire d'un peuple dont on ne connaîtrait pas la littérature on pourrait aussi dire avec certitude quel a dû être le caractère dominant de cette littérature.¹

The generalization is no doubt reckless and indefensible, yet it is inspired by a sense of the interrelation of phenomena that would do credit to many of the historical critics of the nineteenth century. The point of view of Cousin is no other, nor that of Taine, with his *problèmes de mécanique physiologique*. Professor Baldensperger, discussing the application of Bonald's thesis in a general theory of criticism, differentiates between literature as the *expression* of society and literature as the *description* of society and refers to the progress made since Bonald:

Déjà, chez Taine, la littérature aboutissait ... à être un peu plus que l'*expression* de la société, c'est-à-dire l'implicite avoué des dispositions d'un groupe déterminé—directions ou tendances autant que réalités actuelles. Elle en devenait ... la *description*, c'est-à-dire une façon de calquer heureux qui faisait coïncider sur tous les points les traits d'une époque dans la vie réelle et dans l'art.²

There are numerous examples in Bonald of the earlier point of view to which Professor Baldensperger refers,³ and even in the latter part of his life, as illustrated by his comments upon *Hernani*, which begin: "Notre littérature (expression de la société) le dispute de désordre et de déraison à notre politique."⁴ But surely in the 1824 letter just quoted, and in a few other cases,⁵ there is indicated a coincidence of a work of literature with its immediate circumstances no less complete than with Taine.

¹ Mouligné, *Lettres inédites de Bonald*, Paris, Alcan, 1915, p. 146. Cf. Bonald, I, 844: "Le progrès des lettres est donc le résultat nécessaire de la constitution. ..." This last is of 1796. And yet Brunetière writes: "Sous l'influence de Mme de Staël et de Chateaubriand, si l'on n'admet pas encore que l'œuvre d'art soit une simple *résultante*, on s'accoutume du moins à l'idée qu'elle est un *exemplaire* de l'état général des esprits. Cette idée, vous la trouverez ... dans ... Cousin" (*op. cit.*, p. 202).

² *La Littérature, création, succès, durée*. Paris, Flammarion, 1913, pp. 184-85.

³ Cf. Ancelot, *Eloge de Bonald*, pronounced at the Académie Française, July 15, 1841, where the author, referring to the famous aphorism of Bonald, takes this earlier point of view (I, xxxii).

⁴ "Bonald d'après sa correspondance inédite," *Etudes publiées par des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome 87, p. 630. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 499. Cf. also Bonald, III, 671.

⁵ Cf. especially III, 1174: "une parfaite et nécessaire harmonie."

Such determinism naturally leads far beyond any problems merely literary, and Bonald makes a few exceedingly wide applications of his principle:

Nous voyons l'homme et la société à travers nos goûts, nos passions, nos désirs, notre position, notre âge, même notre santé; et il y a bien peu d'esprits assez fermes pour se faire une opinion indépendante de toutes ces choses.¹

... Toutes les expressions de l'homme moral, la physionomie, l'accent, la voix, l'habitude du corps, sont hors du domaine de la volonté de l'homme, et par conséquent hors de la sphère de ses inventions.²

Bonald is preparing the way for the doctrine that *tout se tient*,³ he is even leading, unconsciously and by a traditionalism which would seem to be of a very different color, to the view that like vitriol and sugar vice and virtue are products.⁴

It is very difficult to decide in what measure this determinism or relativism is deliberate, and no doubt dangerous to give some of Bonald's statements an interpretation inspired by subsequent developments. He himself is quite unaware of all the consequences of the doctrine and certainly had he foreseen some of them he would have retreated into the most uncompromising absolutism.⁵ Faguet thinks Bonald was afraid of the theory of evolution.⁶ Was not the

¹ III, 1347 (*Pensées*).

² III, 141.

³ Cf. III, 1035, on "les rapports infinis qui existent."

⁴ Another relationship between Bonald and Taine, based on their realism, is discussed by Moulinié, *op. cit.*, pp. 436 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 437: "Le réalisme conduit au relativisme." Cf. Bourget, "Le Réalisme de Bonald," *Études et Portraits*, Paris, Plon, 1906.

There are moments when Bonald would seem to suggest Taine's theory of race. Cf. I, 295, where he says of the French: "J'observe avec attention ce peuple, mêlé de Romains, de Gaulois et de Germains, et je crois apercevoir dans son caractère la fierté nationale du Romain, l'impétuosité du Gaulois, la franchise du Germain; comme je retrouve, dans ses manières, l'urbanité du premier, la vivacité du second, la simplicité du dernier."

Cf., however, Dimier, *les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution*, Paris, 1907, p. 76: "Par un trait de vocabulaire des plus heureusement inspirés, Bonald appelle ce qui distingue une nation, non pas la race mais le caractère. Les nations ne sont pas l'œuvre de la nécessité physique, mais de l'homme cultivé, dressé, perfectionné par les institutions." Dimier writes as a militant dogmatist, but in this case he seems to be correct. The connection with Taine is tenuous.

⁵ Cf. III, 964, a vigorous objection to the biological interpretation of man. Cf. also, III, 1149; III, 398. But he does not always draw such a sharp line between nature and human nature. Cf. III, 1296, an analogy between the society of ants and that of man, an idea, however, which Bonald does not carry to its consequences. In so many cases he was building better (or if one prefers, worse) than he knew.

⁶ *Politiques et Moralistes du 19^e siècle*. Paris, 1891, I, 102-3.

fear due to recognition of the force of the argument? Does he not profit from familiarity with the subject of his denunciation? And in so far as Bonald is relativistic in spite of himself, does he not prove the power of the rising tide of relativism in France?—a conclusion as interesting and important as any concerning his originality.

It has been noticed that Bonald resembles Condillac. Their doctrines have several points in common,¹ and doubtless Bonald, never averse to applying to his own purposes the arguments of his opponents,² was influenced by Condillac, with whose work he was very familiar and frequently at variance.

As to his relationship to Mme de Staël, there is no positive evidence that he made use of her *Littérature*, a book of which, in spite of the general sensation that Vinet says it caused,³ Bonald does not even seem particularly aware.⁴ Although he kept on with his relativistic criticism after the appearance of this work, it has been seen that the essential point of his thesis about literature as the expression of society was made years earlier.⁵ Was she influenced by him?⁶ We think not, in spite of the resemblances. It is true that like Bonald she insists particularly upon the influence of religion and politics;⁷ like him she makes a sharp distinction, for the arts, between *l'imagination*, more or less local, and *les idées morales*, universal;⁸

¹ Condillac, we have seen, believes that "la philosophie est de toutes les nations, mais la poésie est toujours strictement nationale." Bonald means precisely the same thing, in spite of the apparent differences, when he writes: "La poésie est de tous les peuples, de tous les temps, de tous les climats et partout le même quant aux sentiments; elle ne diffère que par les images" (I, 423). They urge the same kind of empiricism, they have similar views of the futility of imitating the literature of the ancients, and of the attainment of a maximum of beauty in a given genre. They arrive, thanks to their basic principle, at a similar hierarchy of tastes. Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*

² Witness his citing Rousseau in support of his own theory of the origin of language.

³ Vinet, *Etudes sur la littérature française au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Fischbacher, I, 52.

⁴ Bonald knew Mme de Staël personally and wrote a refutation of her book on the Revolution (II, 593 ff.). In a list of her works he omits the *Littérature* (II, 593). Cf. II, 594: "Sa doctrine politique est toute en illusions, sa doctrine religieuse en préventions ou en préjugés, et sa doctrine littéraire en paradoxes." In one reference (II, 631) he speaks of her determinism.

⁵ Mme de Staël's *Essai sur les Fictions* (1795) contains almost no suggestion of a relationship between literature and society.

⁶ Moulinié's list (*op. cit.*, p. 29, note), of the few people who had copies of the first edition of the *Théorie du Pouvoir* (promptly suppressed in 1796 and not republished until 1843) does not include Mme de Staël.

⁷ Cf. the passages quoted by Brunetière, *op. cit.*, p. 175. Cf. *Littérature* (2e édition), I, 4, 28, 98, 110; II, 1, note, etc.

⁸ Cf. *Littérature*, I, 192 ("l'imagination ... les idées philosophiques"). Cf. also I, 132, 173, 250 ("l'imagination ... la pensée"), etc.

in a similar manner she thinks that a given literature, from the point of view of imagination, may reach relatively soon a saturation point,¹ and is equally sure, when she considers *la beauté morale*, of an advance, no doubt slow, toward a remote, and, for her, sufficiently vague, perfection.² She has, furthermore, a similar gift, or curse, of irrelevance, a characteristic to be found frequently among the relativists, and she is likewise inclined, as one handling a new doctrine, to overstatement followed by retractions that constitute a denial of the original proposition.³ And like Bonald she looks back with composure at the infancy of civilization, equally serene in her conviction that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the world can no longer be charged even with adolescence.⁴ But here we approach characteristics of a whole period. And these two individual writers are in many respects as antipodal as liberalism and conservatism, as the romantic and the classic, as enthusiasm and order; and while Bonald writes much of his criticism to prove that the Revolution was noxious, Mme de Staël, no less partisan, is anxious to demonstrate that the Revolution may be a boon for letters. How singular then that in literary criticism, although Mme de Staël is incomparably more expert, they should have had much the same principles! In the absence of evidence that they made use of each other's works, we conjecture, applying ourselves a relativistic law, that both were becoming aware of a relativism which was beginning to pervade everything and that both were making concessions to it, Bonald more or less unconsciously, Mme de Staël eagerly. In fine, they were subject to the same pressure.

¹ I, 208-9: "les arts ont un terme. ..." Cf. I, 97: "Il est impossible, je le répète, de dépasser une certaine borne dans les arts, même dans le premier de tous, la poésie." Whence the prophecy, astonishing for the beginning of the nineteenth century, that imaginative poetry will make no further progress in France (II, 187.)

² I, 289: "Lorsque la littérature d'imagination a atteint dans une langue le plus haut degré de perfection dont elle est susceptible, il faut que le siècle suivant appartienne à la philosophie, pour que l'esprit humain ne cesse pas de faire des progrès." Cf. I, 84: "Mais cette objection tombe, si l'on n'applique le système de perfectibilité qu'aux progrès des idées, et non aux merveilles de l'imagination." Cf. I, 12.

³ Cf. I, 246: "Le génie le plus remarquable ne s'élève jamais au-dessus des lumières de son siècle, que d'un petit nombre de degrés," and I, 271: "Un tel livre (*le Prince*) est dû tout entier au génie de l'auteur; il n'a point de rapports avec le caractère général de la littérature italienne."

⁴ Cf. I, 90. How far they both are, and Hugo in much greater degree in his *Préface de Cromwell*, from any such relativism as is later to find expression in Renan (e.g., in the *Preface to the Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*)!

Was Condillac a common source?¹ Here we approach a larger problem which would lead beyond the limits of the present discussion of the element of relativism in Bonald. Ultimately all of these writers must be placed where they belong in the history of the development of the relativistic point of view in criticism, but this cannot be undertaken without a treatment of the entire subject. It is known who are the outstanding figures, Sainte-Beuve, Taine, Renan; among the numerous pioneers would be Du Bos,² perhaps Muralt, certainly Condillac.³ A careful study of the genesis of the movement will give the perspective necessary for a final assessment of Bonald. One should make no extravagant claims for him, nor give undue emphasis to casual comment. The fact that he once remarks: "la déference d'un jeune homme pour sa mère prend quelquefois un air de galanterie tout à fait choquant"⁴ does not constitute an anticipation of the *Œdipus Complex*. But he undoubtedly made a significant contribution to "le principe fécond qui devait véritablement renouveler la critique littéraire au XIX^e siècle,"⁵ and, as Faguet remarks of Bonald in an entirely different context,⁶ so certainly it may be affirmed here that "cet homme du passé avait dans son esprit beaucoup d'avenir."

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¹ As regards Mme de Staël, cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

² Bonald had evidently read Du Bos (III, 854).

³ We have Taine's own word for credit due not only to Sainte-Beuve but to Stendhal (*Histoire de la Littérature anglaise*, Introduction, p. viii). Faguet was perhaps inspired by Taine when he ranks Stendhal so highly as a pioneer relativist in the *Petit de Julleville* article on the author of *Racine et Shakespeare*. There is lack of co-ordination in *Petit de Julleville*; Faguet takes no account of the claims of originality made on behalf of Mme de Staël. The whole situation is still nebulous.

⁴ III, 463, note.

⁵ *Petit de Julleville*, VII, 98, in the chapter on Mme de Staël, whose *Littérature*, it is stated, "montre la route à la critique de l'avenir." There is no mention of Bonald here nor in the chapter on the literary critics of the First Empire, who (p. 145) "n'eurent pas de fenêtres ouvertes sur l'avenir."

⁶ *Politiques et Moralistes du 19^e siècle*, Paris, 1891, I, 98.

LEVENOTH AND THE GRATEFUL DEAD

Matthew Paris' *Historia Anglorum*¹ is the fullest authority for the edifying anecdote told of Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter.² "De hoc Bartholomaeo venerabili viro fama refert notissima, et, cum scripti quod idem episcopus confecit testimonio, crebra ejusdem relatio, quod cum, lucro animarum devotus intendens, parrochiam suam visitaret, in villa quadam campestri cum suis clericis forte pernoctavit." Lodging in an upstairs room overlooking the churchyard, he woke about midnight to find the night-light extinguished, and sent out his chamberlain to fetch fire. While waiting the bishop clearly heard *quandam vocem puerilem* saying repeatedly, "Riseth op, alle Cristes icorne, Levenoth ure fader of pis wrold fundeth"; and other childish voices weeping and saying, "Vae nobis! vae nobis! Quis amodo pro nobis orabit et elemosinas dabit? vel pro nostra salute missas celebrabit? Migrat ab hoc seculo noster consolator Levenothus." The first voice cried in a more solemn tone "Requiescat in pace," and the others responded "Amen." The chamberlain, presently returning with fire from the end of the village, reported that he had found a lighted house and a man just dead; a man given to charity, who had maintained a priest to say masses and offices for the dead, and whose name was Levenoth. The bishop provided for the perpetual continuance of these rites, himself said mass for Levenoth, and had him buried.³

The anecdote is clearly a mere appropriating and localizing of a familiar type of medieval story, which itself seems a late development from the widespread Grateful Dead theme, a Christianized and clericalized development, of which there are many examples. In particular, there are various cases where souls make the responses in offices for the dead, sometimes to help a departed benefactor. In a Latin sermon, for instance, a boy often stops to pray for the dead on his way to school, and is whipped for being late. He dies, and at his

¹ I, 312-14 (Rolls Series, 1866).

² From 1162 to 1184 (Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglic.*, p. 48).

³ There is a garbled reference to the vision in the account of Bartholomew in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Brit.-Hib.*, p. 78. The versicle and response are from the *Missa Defunctorum*, replacing the "Ite missa est" at the end of most masses.

funeral, when the priest sings "Requiescat in pace," the souls of all those buried in the cemetery respond "Amen."¹ Messrs. Crane, Klapper, and J. A. Herbert guide us to like stories. The dead respond similarly in a story told of St. Germanus by Odo of Cheriton (early thirteenth century), who tells one or two other such. In a late fifteenth-century manuscript in Breslau, a priest, as he sang "Requiescant in pace" at the end of the mass, "subito respiciens vidit ecclesiam plenam homuncionibus ad mensuram digiti adorantes super genua sua," who all cried "Amen," and we must not doubt were delivered by his prayers. In the collections which contain the above of course there are many other examples of the usefulness of prayers for the dead.² The feeble childish voices of the dead are paralleled not only by the little people the height of a finger, but in the offices for the dead described in the Middle English *Gast of Gy*; after *Agnus Dei* the voice of the ghost was heard:

A febyll voyce þan might þai ken
Als of a child sayand: 'Amen.'³

Bishop Bartholomew was a highly distinguished man, called by Pope Alexander III one of the two great lights of the English church. He is no unfair specimen of the men who made the church of those centuries, the kind of man we meet when we get into the Middle Ages as they really were. His personality stands out with precision. Sharp and clever in speech, tactful and diplomatic, he was good at adapting means to ends, at compromising in season, and was in demand for commissions and embassies.⁴ This was not his only vision; when others were having visions of the martyred Thomas, he

¹ Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 14961: Hauréau in *Notices et extraits des MSS*, XXXIII, 1, 317 (date of MS not given).

² Jos. Klapper, *Exempla aus HSS des Mittelalters* (Heidelberg, 1911; *Sammlung mittellatein. Texte*, No. 2), Nos. 17 and 38; T. F. Crane in *Med. Philol.*, X, 302 ff.; *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the Brit. Mus.*, III, 383, 463, 464. On the more primitive theme see G. H. Gerould, *The Grateful Dead* (London, 1907-8; *Publ. of Folk-Lore Soc.*, Vol. LX). Among other earlier cases of voices from graves is St. Augustine's tale, that in his own presence voices of congratulation were heard from the tomb of St. Stephen after a miracle of healing by his relics (*De Civitate Dei* XXII. vii. 22).

³ *Palaestra*, I, 12, ll. 209-10: in the Latin source, "cum peruenti fuerint ad illud dictum 'Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona eis requiem,' audiebant vnam vocem tenuem pueri dicentem: 'Amen.'" We remember Virgil's "vocem exiguum" of the shades (*Aeneid* vi. 492-93), and their squeaks in Homer (*ἄλγιστο τετραγυῖα*, etc., *Iliad*, xxiii. 101, *Odyssey* xxiv. 5-9), as well as Horatio's "sheeted dead Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets."

⁴ During the Becket troubles he kept in with both sides, advised *dissimulationem* and was called by the archbishop a coward. He was the only bishop taking part in the coronation of the young Henry who escaped excommunication. See the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, and the references there given, especially Gerald de Barri and the Becket materials.

had one, just as when others were being cured of illness through the new saint's intercession and relics, he was cured of a fever and pleurisy.¹

The history of the anecdote is curious, and also suggestive. Matthew Paris had already had it in his *Chronicon Majus*² in a shorter form, which he had taken from Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*,³ where it first appears. In both it is practically identical and lacks various particulars, the chief being the statement that the bishop often related the story and had put it in writing, the name of Levenoth uttered by the souls and learned by the chamberlain, the English words of the souls, their liturgical prayer for him, the bishop saying mass and burying him. So the earlier version is based on common hearsay (*fama notissima*) and tells merely of the childish voices, their lament for the loss of someone who had provided masses for them, the discovery that such a man had just died, and the bishop's provision for continuing his pious work.

Without detailing the literary history of these three chronicles, it is clear that the earliest text dates some fifty years after the bishop's death, since Roger wrote about 1231-36. But Luard and Gross believed with good reason that down to 1188 he used a chronicle by John de Cella, who was abbot of St. Albans, 1195-1214, and evidently dropped his historical work in 1188. The anecdote is in this part, which brings us to within four years of the bishop's death at latest, and probably earlier yet, to his lifetime.⁴ The simpler form of the story sounds far too modest for a pious fraud. The dream or fancy and the coincidence may have really happened, especially if Bartholomew was traveling "with his mind piously fixed on benefiting the departed," as is said, perhaps on a mission to promote such devotions.

The jage dremeth how his plees ben sped.

Or the bishop may have heard real passers-by bewailing this charitable person. He was evidently the kind of man to make the most of a

¹ The vision is related by his contemporary Benedict of Peterborough, the cure in a letter from the clergy of his cathedral to the Canterbury monks (*Mater. Hist. Th. Becket*, II, 28; I, 407). He also gave St. Hugh of Lincoln a long account of the rescue of a woman from her demon lover by means of St. John's wort (*Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, V, viii).

² II, 216-18 (Rolls Series), edited by Luard.

³ I, 18-20 (Rolls Series), edited by Hewlett.

⁴ In all versions it is chronicled along with Bartholomew's consecration, but it must have occurred later, since he was traveling as a bishop. In all of them it is told as if it were the most interesting thing about him. But it is omitted from the *Flores Historiarum*, once attributed to the imaginary Matthew of Westminster, and mainly based on Paris' *Chron. Maj.*

remarkable experience which would serve his ends. The fuller form of the story, with its heightening and legendary detail, was a later invention. Matthew Paris wrote his longer *Chronicon* after 1236, and clearly had no account but Roger's, or he would have included the striking new details; in 1250, sixty or seventy years after the bishop's death, when he based on it his condensed *Historia Anglorum*, he had found or devised the more impressive account, and broke his rule by enlarging. The fact that the two accounts closely agree in wording except for a short addition here and there indicates that someone in the monastery had made over the earlier version by interpolations in the margin of the copy kept there, or by deliberate re-writing. If Matthew had had an account supposedly written by the bishop, he would have substituted that.¹

In any case we cannot often trace more fully the history of a pious fabrication. If we may take these explanations as fairly probable, we may also take them as a miniature of the history of many medieval stories among those which are not purely oral-traditional; a history not of "insensible growth," or of forgetfulness or confusion, but of a starting-point, historical or invented, and deliberate modifications, often with a purely practical motive. Mysticism and needless assumption of lost versions dim the rationality and humanity of the Middle Ages.²

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¹ There is no reason whatever for believing that Roger invented the story, as Luard thought merely because he did not find it elsewhere. It is true that Bishop Bartholomew was a Breton, with no apparent connection with St. Albans Abbey, and that the story is found only in the series of chronicles written there; but the St. Albans historiographers were exceedingly well informed, and the bishop was well known all over the country. We can trace the later better than the earlier history of the anecdote, since Matthew Paris' original MS of the *Hist. Anglorum* is extant, and also the very copy of the *Chron. Majus* on which he based it (Madden's edition of the former, I. xxxviii, xlix, liii). Matthew Paris himself certainly touched up the account a little, since in his later and fuller version the second occurrence of the name of Levenoth (in the Latin lament) and the bishop's mass and burial of him are added in his own handwriting in the margin of his original copy. That they were not added immediately is shown by the fact that some of the MSS lack these details, and must have been copied before their insertion. Since he did this much to make the account complete and impressive, he may well have done the rest. It would be uncritical to resent this suspicion of the eminent Matthew. An enormous amount of deliberate fabrication was done in the Middle Ages by men who were as upright as most people, and the "pious" took the curse off the "fraud." For the literary facts as to the above, see the introductions to these various chronicles in editions by Madden, Luard and Hewlett, and Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, III, 80 (all in the Rolls Series); also *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* and Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History*.

² It is good to reread now and then J. M. Manly's "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," in *Modern Philology*, IV, 577-95.

CHARLES OF ORLÉANS AND ANNE MOLYNEUX

Among the French poems of Charles, Duke of Orléans, preserved in a half-score manuscripts, are found eleven written in English. The Duke's twenty-five years as a prisoner in England after Agincourt make it not at all improbable that he learned enough of the language to manipulate it, though somewhat stiffly, in these brief love-poems.

The details of Charles's residence in England are not fully collected, perhaps not recorded. We know that he was strictly guarded from intercourse with Frenchmen, but what his social relations with English people were we do not know. It is therefore an interesting glimpse which we obtain from the following poem, one of Charles's English compositions.

Alas mercy wher shal myn hert yow fynd
Neuer had he wyth yow ful aquaintans
Now com to hym and put of hys greuans
Ellys ye be vnto your frend vnkynd

Mercy he hath euer yow in hys mynd
Ous let hym haue sum conforth of plesans
Alas mercy &c.

Let hym not dey but mak at ons a uende
In al hys woo an right hevy penans
Noght is the help that whyl not hym avans
Slauth hys to me and euer com be hynde
Alas mercy &c.¹

Leaving out of consideration the refrain verses, we have here the name *Anne Molins* given by the line initials. She must have been a member of the important Moleyns or Molyneux family, whose most conspicuous member during the period was Adam de Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, keeper of the Privy Seal, and associate of the Earl of Suffolk in bringing over Margaret of Anjou for the marriage with Henry VI. Both a sister and a niece of Adam de Moleyns bore the name Anne, and it appears in other branches of the family.

¹ MS *Bibl. Nat., fonds français 25458*, p. 311.

The political connection between Suffolk (who was for years Charles's jailer) and Adam de Moleyns may account for an Anne de Moleyns in Charles's verse; but the family had many ramifications. One branch was linked in various ways with Thomas Chaucer; we find him asking in 1431 for the wardship of an infant Eleanor Moleyns,¹ whom he had fetched home from the "water of Leyre" with archers, men-at-arms, and women; and we hear Lydgate, in his poem on Thomas Chaucer's departure,² condole with "gentyl Moleyns" for the temporary loss of his "playing feere." But whether the Anne Moleyns whom Orléans addresses is of the Lancashire or the Oxfordshire branch we do not know.

Charles is here using a device sufficiently common in courtly poetry, although I have not noted it in his French verse. To several cases in Wyatt I called attention in *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1922; and Skelton's poem printed by Dyce (I, 25) spells *Kateryn* with its stanza initials. The mere Christian name suggests little; but the appearance of the surname here, of a surname rich in associations, stirs the tapestry. Charles's mechanical verse takes life from a living name.

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¹ *Proc. Privy Council*, IV (ed. Nicolas), 98-99.

² Printed, e.g., *Modern Philology*, I, 331-35.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Early "Entremés" in Spain: The Rise of a Dramatic Form. By WILLIAM SHAFFER JACK. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, "Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures," No. 8. Philadelphia, 1923. Pp. 136.

Students of the sixteenth-century drama especially will extend a welcome to this study of the *entremés* from its beginnings until the time of Cervantes.

In the first chapter the term *entremés* is followed from its earliest occurrence in Spain (1381), and while this date has not been pushed farther back, the origin of the term has been convincingly traced from France through Provence into Catalan and Spanish literature. The peninsular documents, mainly supplied by Milá and Mérimée, are skilfully used to show the passage from the gastronomic stage (which the word has in common with *farsa* and *sainete*) of a set piece at dinner, to a show piece, allegorical, often religious, eventually set in motion on wheels, gradually assuming living human form and finding a voice, touched by the comic spirit, and finally passing on to the stage. There, as further chapters show, it eventually developed from inconspicuous bits of comic relief, mostly practical jokes, into a literary *genre*, essentially secondary or dependent, perhaps, but with entirely definite characteristics. With all that, of course, its position in the stage performance, its frequency, its use of prose or verse have varied, yet within limits now definitely ascertained. The types prevailing at given times have been indicated, although on this point there is probably room for further investigation.

The reference to English pageantry (p. 14 n.) suggests that Spanish pageantry, when it shall be studied as it deserves, may prove significant for the early development of the *entremés*. This also applies to the allegorical tournament, just as little known, and to the dumb show. The "Profecía de Evangelista"¹ says: "sallirán las gentes ... al campo, cada officio con su *entremés*." Guild pageantry, definitely popular, seems to provide the most natural opening for the comic element. This would lead eventually to such "entremeses de enamoraments, alcavotarias e altres actes desonestes e reprobats" as are complained of in 1442, and which would be best explained by the reference to Horozco's *Memoria* (used on pp. 69-70), or to the humorous *fallas* (*invenciones*!) which still arise each year on the street corners of Valencia, and are burned, traditionally, on the day of San José. The quotation from Bances' *Candamo* (pp. 19-20) is hardly pertinent here, and may be used to better advantage to illustrate the connection between the *entremés* and the *commedia dell'arte*. Indeed, the playlet referred to by Bances is a popular

¹ Late fifteenth century; *Zeits. f. rom. phil.*, I, 245.

scenario known as *El estudiante*,¹ which twenty years ago was still alive in the Andalusian countryside.

The relation between *entremés* and *auto* indicated on page 15 ("And herein lies a strange thing . . .") is not clear. Of course, the latter term, at that time, has a broad generic meaning (as in the *Doctrinal de caballeros*) and covers *entremés* together with much else. On page 22 read 1413 instead of 1513. The meaning of *entremés* = "joke," "trick" (pp. 21 ff.), is well illustrated. Other references may be added, e.g., from the "Glosas sobre el tratado de Mingo Revulgo"² and Francisco de Ávila, "La Vida y la Muerte."³ Hernando de Herrera⁴ calls the different *levadas* of his treatise *aucto*, *disputa*, and (the fourth) *entremés*. Palau certainly made abundant use of the term.⁵ In Portugal, Sá de Miranda used it in the same sense,⁶ and it endured in Spain as late as Salas Barbadillo.⁷

Passing to the definition of the *entremés* (pp. 24 ff.), there seems to be no reason for assuming that Lope in his *Arte Nuevo* referred to Rueda's *Armelinea*. That Father José Alcázar was acquainted with Caramuel's *Rhythmica*, in fact did no more than paraphrase it, is easily ascertained.⁸

The second chapter, partly published in the "Publications of the Modern Language Association," brings a thorough survey of the sixteenth-century drama for such subordinate, comic parts as may be considered embryonic *entremeses*. Next to the excursus on the origin of the word *entremés*, this is probably the most valuable part of the study. Neither the reference (p. 76) in Palau's *Santa Orosia* nor the one in the *Crotalón* need have any dramatic implication.

Allegorical church-*entremeses*, such as the one in Toledo in 1557,⁹ are outside the main line of development; not so the attendant comic "*máscaras con diversas invenciones*"¹⁰ which probably have a direct bearing on the stage *entremés*.

It may be that the *entremeses indecentes* against which Mariana protested were of this ambulant kind, that is, really *máscaras*, like the one described by Horozco. Also, the *entremeses* which Gregorio Silvestre is supposed to have written were probably arrangements for a kind of church-*máscaras*, in which music played an important part. Thus the *entremés* merges into the *ensalada* and the *villancico de Navidad*.

¹ Cf. Montoto y Sedas, *Representaciones dramáticas en Andalucía* (Seville, 1904), No. 10 in the list.

² Late fifteenth century (?): Gallardo, I, 836.

³ Ap. Gallardo, I (1508), 336.

⁴ "Breve disputa de ocho levadas contra Aristotil" (ed. Bonilla), 1517, *Rev. hisp.*, Vol. L.

⁵ Add *Custodia del Hombre*, I, 2432; "Victoria de Christo," ap. Rouanet, IV, 386.

⁶ *Poesías* (ed. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos), p. 255.

⁷ "El Cavallero puntual (1619)" (ed. Cotarelo), II, 215.

⁸ Cf. Gallardo, I, s.v. "Alcázar."

⁹ Cañete, Lucas Fernández, p. 96.

¹⁰ As in Placencia, in 1578; cf. Carvajal, *Josefina*, p. lxxiii.

In chapter iii the point is well made (p. 76) that *passo* is merely a temporary name for the *entremés*. To early examples of *passo* with probable dramatic connotation may be added Pedro Sánchez' *Cuatro pasos de la pasión*, 1533, a lost play, and the speeches of the *Faraute* (I and II) in Carvajal's *Josefina*. Villalobos used it in the Proemio of his *Anfitrión* (1515), which may account for a similar passage in Timoneda's adaptation. In 1603 Pedro Navarro still used it in the same way in his *Comedia* on the Griselda theme. An uncommon meaning of the word is found in Villalón's *Crotolón*,¹ "passos, ó lo que los antiguos llamaron palestras ó estadios."

The fact that many *entremeses* are "practical jokes" should, perhaps, have been more emphasized. These may often be traced into popular medieval literature, as here, notably in the case of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, with a consequent better understanding of their acting. The practical joke played on the *Vizcayno* in the second act of Timoneda's *Aurelia* can be understood only by remembering it as a part of a medieval process of rejuvenation which included blowing into a pipe which was filled with soot, and is best illustrated by a Dutch medieval playlet entitled *Buskenblaser*.

The mention of a "really beautiful little playlet . . . entitled *Amor vengado*" (p. 95) should not raise any false hopes. It is definitely the property of Alonso de la Vega since it is the *introito* of his *Duquesa de la Rosa*, disguised as a *passo* by Eugenio de Ochoa.

In chapter iv (p. 99) a reference to the unhappy Grisóstomo in *Don Quixote* as an example of local playwrights would have been pertinent. There is an interesting suggestion that Melchora in the *Entremés de las Esteras* may be referring to Rueda's lawsuit against the Duke of Medinaceli. To make Saldaña into an *entremesista* (p. 102) is tempting and plausible, yet, in other passages of the same play² the word *entremés* merely refers to a comical situation or a practical joke. Concerning *El Mundo y No Nadie* a reference should have been made to Schevill's article on the subject.³ Also, in view of Menéndez Pidal's recent article,⁴ it is perhaps unwise to deny (p. 121) categorically Adolfo de Castro's thesis on the *Entremés de los Romances*.

The notes on the Italian *intermezzi* are pertinent, but there seems to be little point in the numerous notes on the German *Zwischenspiel*. The development of at least the term *sainete*, beginning even earlier than that of *passo*, might fitly have been touched upon. Gil Vicente might have been considered. The author's translation of *entremés* as "passing-scene" or "passing-play" (presumably from musical terminology) has little to recommend it. The "Mantuano" in the Foreword is the "Bachiller Mantuano," i.e., of Madrid, namely, A. Bonilla y San Martín.

Altogether, the work has been well done. The general line of development of the *entremés* still follows accepted ideas and no landmarks have been

¹ *Orig. de la Novela*, II, 123.

² *Comedia del Tutor*, I, 338, 377.

³ *Rev. crit. hisp.-amer.*, I, 30-37.

⁴ *Un aspecto en la elaboración de "El Quijote"*, Madrid, 1920.

changed. But the intermediate steps are now fairly definite—as definite, indeed, as available documents permit. A large and sometimes intricate mass of material has been methodically ordered, digested, and discussed with acumen and judgment, and thus much precision has been added to an important part of Spanish literary history.

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La Tragédie française et le Théâtre hollandais au dix-septième siècle.
I^e partie: L'influence de Corneille. By J. BAUWENS. Amsterdam, 1921.

The first fifty-six pages of this thesis "pour le doctorat d'université" (Paris) are irrelevant to its main object, and consist of a survey of the Dutch-Flemish literature up to the seventeenth century, based upon such generally known works as the histories of Dutch literature of Jonckbloet, Te Winkel, and G. Kalf. This résumé is interspersed with diatribes against "the genius of the Dutch race," which, according to Dr. Bauwens, is essentially utilitarian, heavy, and anti-poetical. If the translations of Corneille's plays are inferior to their originals, he argues, it is because the Dutch *génie national* is materialistic and as such opposed to the French point of view.

In literary history such abstract generalizations explain nothing. The practical materialism of the Dutch-Flemish "national soul" has not prevented it from producing mystic authors like Sister Hadewijch, Thomas à Kempis, or Jan van Ruusbroeck; mystic painters like Van Eyck, Memline, or Petrus Christus; or theologians and philosophers like Jansenius and Justus Lipsius. The aristocratic distinction of a Van Dijk argues against the inherent heaviness of the Dutch "national genius," and the super-realism of Rembrandt or Rubens is animated by a lyricism which lifts it far above mere imitation of reality as such. Fixed artistic qualities or defects are the privilege or the affliction of individuals and, if the translations of Corneille into Dutch are inferior, it is simply because the translators were inferior artists. The same deterioration is noticed in German or English translations of the same Cornelian plays, but we do not think of invoking the "national soul" of these countries to explain these individual shortcomings.

The documentation of Dr. Bauwens' study is by no means complete. He overlooks the existence of Michel de Swaen's translation of the *Cid*, of 1694, as well as the translation of *Cinna* by the same author. It is true that the latter work remained in manuscript until 1774, but nevertheless it belongs to the same group of seventeenth-century translations as those studied in this thesis. Passing mention, at least, ought to have been made of the fact that Simon van der Gruyssen—the translator of *Othon*—adapted in 1684 Corneille's *Illusion comique* to the stage as *De waarschijnlijke Toverij*. Dr. Bauwens devotes several pages to G. Bidlo's translation of *Pompée* (1684) but overlooks the existence of a contemporary pamphlet criticizing Bidlo's work: "Dicht

kundig Onderzoek op het vertaald treurspel Pompejus, door het Konstgenootschap In Magno voluisse sat est." Several members of this important society collaborated in this volume, which accuses the translator of understanding neither French nor Dutch syntax and prosody. This literary quarrel is of importance for Corneille's fame in Holland and would have completed Dr. Bauwens's survey.

In tracing the spread of Cornelian translations in Holland, Dr. Bauwens fails to make adequate use of the number of editions to show their relative success. Van Heemskerck's translation of the *Cid* had at least seven editions before 1700 and three after that date, whereas De Swaen's counted only one. Jan de Witt's translation of *Horace* counted at least six issues until 1700, but Bidlo's translation of *Pompée* was only printed twice, etc.

Another shortcoming of the work is occasioned by the mistake of ending the seventeenth century arbitrarily with the year 1700. For this reason Dr. Bauwens includes in his study, for instance, the translation of *Polyeucte*, of 1696, by Frans Rijk, but excludes the translation of *Tite et Bérénice*, of 1714, by Seibrand Feitams. Other translations which have thus been neglected, although illustrating the vogue of Corneille in Holland, are: *Pertharite*, translated by S. Feitama, 1723; *Oedipe*, translated by B. Huydecoper, 1720; *Théodore*, translated by Jan van Doesburg, 1715; *Suréna*, translated by P. van Loghem, 1738, etc.

The dates of the translations of Corneille show conclusively that the high-water mark of his influence in Holland must be placed between 1680 and 1725. Only three translations, studied by Dr. Bauwens, appeared before 1680; nine were published after that date and before 1700; and between 1700 and 1720 six other plays of Corneille are versified in Dutch. Dr. Bauwens, hypnotized by the date 1700, has failed to describe the culmination of the Cornelian current in Holland, and has given no hint as to its duration and its decline.

About 1720, at a time when numerous translations and editions of Corneille were still published in Holland, his fame begins to wane. That, at least, is indicated by a document which is indicated by Picot in his *Bibliographie Cornélienne*, but of which Dr. Bauwens had made no use; in the Préface of B. Huydecoper's translation of *Œdipe*, the famous professor, P. Burman, compared this play to Voltaire's *Œdipe*, to the disadvantage of Voltaire's tragedy. This defense of Corneille did not remain without an answer and, in the month of May of that year, the *Gazette de Hollande* replied. Huydecoper then issued a pamphlet, *Corneille verdedigd* (*Corneille Defended*), which yields interesting information about Corneille's fame in the Netherlands.

Dr. Bauwens' thesis is a comparison of some early translations of Corneille with their originals, rather than a history of Corneille's influence in Holland. A more completely documented study remains desirable, since—whatever may be said about the incompatibility of the Dutch "psyche" and the

French "soul"—it was precisely in Holland that Corneille obtained his greatest European success. The editions of translations of his plays in Holland before 1810 number eighty-two as compared with: Italy, forty-seven; Germany, twenty-eight; England, twenty-one; and Spain, seven.

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The Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts. Published by the Cambridge Anglo-Norman Society. O. H. PRIOR, General Editor. Cambridge: University Press, 1924. Pp. xxviii+66.

As announced in the Preface by Dr. O. H. Prior, its general editor, this new series will not be bound down to the publication of purely literary work but will include also "documents of interest from social, economic, political, and legal points of view." The present volume, which is the first of the series, contains three short poems that are at least interesting from a linguistic point of view, and, as regards Perot's *Divisiones Mundi*, from a scientific point of view also. The first, a *Poem on the Assumption*, edited by J. P. Strachey, a work of 14 laisses in octosyllabics, translated fairly closely from the Latin text (the *Visions of St. Elizabeth of Schöнау*, Book II, chaps. xxxi-xxxii); second, a *Poem on the Day of Judgment*, edited by H. J. Chaytor, consisting of 138 octosyllabics, in which the description of the Day of Judgment resembles other medieval poems on the same subject; lastly, *Divisiones Mundi*, edited by O. H. Prior, a didactic poem on geography by Perot de Garbelei, of 935 six-syllable lines, or rather three-stress lines, according to the editor, based on the *De Philosophia Mundi* and *De Imagine Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis.

In the Preface to this small volume, which partly formed the subject of a recent article (*Romania*, XLIX, 161-85), Dr. Prior reasserts his views on Anglo-Norman literature and language, and the linguistic facts found in the three poems are used for the further discussion and demonstration of his claims. Relative to the effect of the Norman Conquest on English history, the new school of history holds that "the effects of the Conquest were so deep that it is, in effect, a new starting-point rather than a turning-point in English history" (Tout, *France and England in the Middle Ages*, p. 61). Apparently differing from the new school and following the footsteps of Freeman and Stubbs, Dr. Prior is inclined to minimize the influence of the Norman invasion and stresses "for all that it is worth the continuity of the Anglo-Saxon conditions"—historical, artistic, and literary—"through the Norman period." According to this view, the phonetic evolution of Anglo-Norman is similar to, if not entirely dependent on, that of Middle English dialects, and, in support of his claim, he draws parallels between Anglo-Norman and Middle English dialects. This view conflicts, however, with the results of recent studies (Tanqueray, *Evolution du verbe en anglo-français*, pp. ii and 818-57; Studer,

The Study of Anglo-Norman, pp. 9-10; H. D. Learned, "The Accentuation of Old French Loanwords," *PMLA*, XXXVII, 706-21), and the general editor freely admits the dearth of material for his subject and the want of a work in English comparable to that of Gilliéron's *Atlas linguistique* in order to attain definite conclusions in this field. Moreover, one has to beware of linguistic similarities which may be purely accidental, bearing in mind what Skeat (*Principles of English Etymology*, p. 34) remarked long ago: "The pronunciation of Anglo-Norman agrees, almost exactly, with that of the contemporary Middle English, the symbols used in both having the same value, and both being spelt phonetically." Dr. Prior contends further that, as a consequence of English influence, English rhythm was substituted for French syllabism in Anglo-Norman versification. The latter view is still a matter of discussion and is one on which eminent Anglo-Norman scholars are sharply divided (Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, pp. 79 ff.). This English rhythmic system supposedly applied to French poetry by insular poets had a decided advantage: it was extremely elastic; it might possibly explain the well-known characteristics of Anglo-Norman versification. On the other hand, the subject is a most puzzling and baffling one. Research is made painstakingly arduous by the carelessness, ignorance, and inconsistency of Anglo-Norman copyists, and the solution of this problem may still be far removed.

In the study of the language of the three poems, only a few sounds are dealt with. In fact, Dr. Prior appears to be more interested in the language of the scribes than in that of the authors proper. The morphology is given no space. This study would have gained in value if it had been somewhat more intensive. Dr. Prior realizes this shortcoming, but he "broke new ground" by discussing the results of possible dialectical influences exerted by Middle English on Anglo-Norman phonology. Such discussions are enlightening and may eventually help in localizing more approximately certain Anglo-Norman texts; conversely, they may also prove certain dialectical influences to be doubtful or without any foundation whatever. The editor remarks (p. 36) that Perot's poem, *Divisiones Mundi*, is written in an Anglo-Norman dialect which shows distinctive features of the southwest of England, and he considers (p. 7) the rhyme, *ef* (ovum): *preuf* 61, as an additional argument in favor of a Western origin. This argument must be viewed with caution, for (e) from Latin (ø) occurs in Adgar, Frère Angier, Langtoft, and in the *Vie de Seint Auban* (cf. Stimming, *Der a.-n. Boeve de Haumtone*, p. 208), and Vising (*op. cit.*, pp. 39-40) infers the following localities for the above works: Adgar-London, Frère Angier-Oxford, Langtoft-Yorkshire, *Vie de Seint Auban*-Hertfordshire. Furthermore, in this poem Latin (ø) rhymes only with itself: *fleuve:preve* 850, *iluec:ovec* 852, and nothing conclusive can be drawn from such a rhyme, at least as concerns the author's language. The editor also considers (p. 7) such a rhyme as *pus* (*plus?*): *truis* 181 (though *pus* may stand for *puis*; in such a case the rhyme would offer nothing per-

plexing) as an "important criterion for the localization of texts." This rhyme is of common occurrence not only in Anglo-Norman (Stimming, *op. cit.*, p. lvii; Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 65; Vising, *op. cit.*, p. 29), but also in Benoit de Sainte-Maure (*Roman de Troie*, VI, 123) and Marie de France (Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. lxxxiii). The rhyme *desuz* (*desus*):*tuz* 73 (unless *desuz* should stand for *desous*) is interesting, since other arguments point to a south-western locality; in this respect, Perot's poem seems to share the ethnographic and linguistic features found in *Boeve de Haumtone* (Stimming, *op. cit.*, pp. lviii and lvii). On the other hand, the rhyme *o:u(y)* occurs in the *Poem on the Day of Judgment*:*desus:iros* 131, but no particular English locality is assigned by the editor.

The editions of the three poems are exact copies of the MSS, and corrections are offered in the notes only. In Perot's poem, *Divisiones Mundi*, Dr. Prior conveniently reprinted the Latin original side by side with its translation, otherwise French names of certain towns and countries would have been unreadable without the help of the Latin version.

A few minor corrections may be suggested in regard to the text. Page 20: *deu* 154, the rhyme calls for *dé*; *enunbré* 161 (or *anunbré*) does not necessarily mean here "innumerable," but "in number, counted, numbered"; *asmé* 160 stands for *acesmé* or *assemé*. Page 46: for *Ja quire nel quiron* 339, the note suggests wrongly to read "never will they cook it," while the vocabulary reads "they will seek to, try to"; *enclot: ost* 333, should read *enclot*, preterite; for *beu* 344, read possibly *ben*. Page 48: as regards the rhyme *bevre* (MS *beure*): *creire* 417, the editor suggests *beiire* for *bevre*; yet the same rhyme appears in the same poem: *beivre:creire* 910, and also *dire:descruire* 241 by the side of *livre:descriere* 43; moreover, similar rhymes occur in the works of careful authors: *Roman de Thèbes*, *creire:receivre* 2845; *G. de Dole*, *espoire:boivre* 3436; Denis Piramus' *Vie Seint Edmund*, *arveire:receivre* 1829, by the side of *creire:arveire* 78. Page 49: read *douche* for *touche* 466; *descriurai* for *descruerai* 470. Page 55: *estrut* 697 may stand for *estruist* from *estruire* (*Roman de Thèbes*, Vocab., has *estruit*, p.p.). Page 56: we might read *sire* instead of *empere:empire* 726. Page 59: read *siet* for *set* 838. An index of proper names and a vocabulary intentionally abridged, which reproduces words as found in the text without any attempt at emendation, ends this volume.

Upon the whole, the Cambridge Anglo-Norman Society is to be commended for undertaking the edition of the numerous manuscripts which are to be found in the Cambridge University and College libraries. Its first volume reflects creditably upon English scholarship, and it is fortunate that the study of Anglo-Norman has now become in its birthplace a subject of lasting interest.

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